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**11 January 1986**

**Worldwide Report**

# **ARMS CONTROL**

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11 January 1986

# WORLDWIDE REPORT

## ARMS CONTROL

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

SOVIET ARMY PAPER: U.S. CONTINUES TO DEVELOP STRATEGIC ARMS

PM211029 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 85 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Interested in the Arms Race"]

[Text] Washington, 20 Nov--The U.S. military-industrial complex is actively developing [razrabotka] and creating [sozdaniye] new first strike strategic nuclear systems and offensive space weapons. The magazine AVIATION WEEK & SPACE TECHNOLOGY reports that Lockheed will soon embark on the creation [sozdaniye] and testing of "an interceptor which is a key element of the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' (SDI)." This type of space armament is a missile launched from ground-based launchers and designed to strike ICBM's outside the atmosphere. The cost of the contract is \$400 million, the magazine notes.

The first in-flight test of the new version of the sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missile has been carried out at the Tonopah test range in Nevada. Reporting this, the newspaper DEFENCE NEWS notes that the new missile's warhead is designed to strike targets located over large areas. The new "Harm" missile created to destroy radar stations has been tested at the China Lake test range in California. This missile is produced by Texas Instruments and the Pentagon plans to buy \$6 millions worth of these missiles. Multibillion sums continue to enter the safes of the "giants" of the military industry from programs to create sophisticated MX and Midget ICBM's, B-1B strategic bombers, and Trident nuclear submarines.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

MOSCOW ON U.S. 'STUBBORN UNWILLINGNESS TO ABANDON' SDI

LD222350 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1740 GMT 22 Nov 85

[From the "International Program" presented by Igor Charikov]

[Text] The results of the Soviet-American summit meeting are theme number one of all mass media, the subject of discussion and comment by prominent statesmen, politicians, and public figures in all countries of the world.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that this meeting has stirred up universal interest in the main contemporary problems and in the search for ways of solving them. And what is very important, the results of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan have imparted a certain optimism to the numerous appraisals and forecasts for the further development of world events. It is precisely these main thoughts which are being advanced by the major organs of the world press, publishing the Soviet-American statement, and setting forth Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address at the final news conference in Geneva.

The RUDE PRAVO newspaper stresses that the main principle by which the Soviet delegation was guided in Geneva was its responsibility for the destinies of all mankind.

The American press organs, in particular THE WASHINGTON POST, NEW YORK TIMES, LOS ANGELES TIMES and others note with satisfaction the atmosphere of benevolence which prevailed at the talks.

A special place in the commentaries of newspapers, television, and radio observers is taken up by the question of the USSR's attitude to the "star wars" program. THE GUARDIAN newspaper writes in particular that the Soviet Union's consistent position on this question was based on principle. The Soviet leader did not leave even a shadow of doubt in the minds of the Americans that a reduction in strategic armaments is inseparable from the prevention of an arms race in space. A similar thought also is expressed by an observer of the Paris LE MONDE newspaper, who points out that the USSR is ready for a radical reduction in nuclear arms on the condition that the door for the deployment [razvorachivaniye] of armaments in space is shut tightly.

It needs to be said that this Soviet position which was again set forth precisely and clearly at the Geneva talks is meeting with increasing understanding in political and public circles in a whole range of foreign countries. On the other hand, Washington's stubborn unwillingness to abandon the conduct of preparatory work for the creation of a large-scale system of antimissile defense with space-based elements is provoking sharp criticism. In particular such a well-known specialist in the disarmament field as Paul Warnke, who at the time headed the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, condemned the idea of the creation of a Strategic Defense System. Paul Warnke believes that an uncontrolled arms race will be the result of any steps in this direction. The program for the development of a large-scale antimissile defense system will not lead to strengthening U.S. national security. This is recklessly playing with the security of the United States and the entire world, he said.

The leaders and prominent figures of a number of Western countries are welcoming the results of the Geneva summit talks.

UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher spoke at a news conference in London, where she stated that the Geneva meeting had opened up prospects for widening cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in a number of areas, and that it had contributed to the establishment of better mutual understanding.

A positive assessment of the Geneva meeting was given by Shintaro Abe, the Japanese foreign affairs minister. The exchange of views between the highest leaders of the two great powers and the accord on exchanging visits are of exceptionally great importance, he said.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney termed the Soviet-American summit meeting a prologue of successes in which many chapters are still to be written. I am witnessing a substantive change in the climate thanks to which true progress is possible.

I will quote one more statement. It belongs to Danish Prime Minister Schlueter. In an interview to Danish television he stated that an improvement in the climate in the superpowers' relations also will yield good results for Europe. The relations between West and East Europe can be more fruitful, the prime minister said and the opportunities for cooperation can grow.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

USSR PRESS CONFERENCE HELD TO DISCUSS ARMS RACE

LD181804 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on the topic: "International Security and the Arms Race" held on 18 December at the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. Participants in the press conference are: Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences; Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of the United States and Canada of the Academy of Sciences; Academician Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Institute of Space Research of the Academy of Sciences; and Lieutenant General Viktor Starodubov, deputy chief of a directorate of the General Staff of the Armed Forces. The press conference is opened by Albert Vlasov, deputy chief of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee; recorded]

[Text] [Vlasov] The selected topic is in accordance with the spirit of the times and the Soviet-U.S. accords during the summit meeting in Geneva, which without a doubt introduced positive elements to contemporary international life. Indisputably, the key issue of the times is the prevention of an arms race in space and its curtailment on earth. Today there remains a major impediment to its resolution: That is the U.S. "star wars" program. The Soviet Union is emphatically critical of it, not because it is afraid--as some people in the West assert--of this so-called Strategic Defense Initiative program.

In this connection, I would like to draw your attention once more to the words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the press conference in Geneva that in the event the United States implements the "star wars" program, the Soviet Union will find a response. It will be effective, less costly, and, perhaps, implemented in a shorter period. The Soviet Union sees its task as not permitting a new spiral of the arms race and the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction. Guided precisely by a high degree of responsibility for the world situation and for its future, the Soviet Union is putting forward a broad program for the improvement of the international situation and the cessation of the arms race. Allow me to give the floor to Academician Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov.

[Arbatov] Well, I shall speak in more detail about the Soviet concept of security which was recently in a whole series of our official documents,



first and foremost, in the latest speeches of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in Paris, in Geneva, and in Moscow. If we are speaking of the USSR and the United States, security can only be reciprocal. If we are speaking of the world community as a whole, then it can only be universal. We cannot achieve security to the detriment of or in opposition to the other side, but only together with it.

Moreover, today true state wisdom--and Comrade Gorbachev spoke of this in Geneva--is not only to be concerned for one's own security, but also to be careful that the other side feels no less secure than you do. This is not just out of the goodness of one's heart, but out of consideration for one's own security, because a feeling of lack of security on the other side leads to nervousness and unpredictability in its actions and thus, constitutes a threat to oneself. Security cannot be ensured by military means or military strength. A completely new situation has come about, signifying a break with the traditions that have formed over centuries and even millennia in ways of thinking and ways of acting. We understand how difficult the task of realizing these new realities, and the radical restructuring of the entire system of international relations in connection with it, is. But we can see that the survival of mankind will not be ensured if this task is not resolved.

[Vlasov] Allow me to give the floor to Academician Velikhov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences. Yevgeniy Pavlovich.

[Velikhov] Why do we regard the question of weapons in space as very fundamental? Well, primarily, because weapons in space go beyond the framework of just antimissile defense; even though this question is, in itself, extremely important. Space weapons, just like nuclear weapons, are global weapons. The fact that nuclear weapons are global ones has been shown, in particular, by the latest scientific research on the nuclear winter. It reveals that no matter where a conflict occurs, every inhabitant on our planet will be in some way involved in its catastrophic consequences.

The same thing happens with space weapons. Whatever weapon you put into space, whatever country puts it there, it cannot be hung up or kept in some corner of space. It will rotate around the planet and in any event, this weapon will cover our entire planet equally. This is the great danger which is now facing the whole world. It is a fundamental danger. And, first and foremost, it is the task of everyone to prevent this danger.

What will happen if, despite the universal desire--now, one could say, there is a common point of view held by all people of the planet who understand the global danger of space weapons--if despite this, the attempt is still made to go beyond the bounds of strategic parity--an attempt which in my opinion would be hopeless. In this case, it must be said that the analysis which has been carried out by Soviet scientists, our specialists, and by many scientists in Western countries shows that measures taken to counter such a space echelon are for many reasons considerable more effective, first of all in cost. There is an assessment that shows that with regard to price, for example, they are of two orders of magnitude in their effectiveness.

They are more effective because a space echelon is extremely exposed; extremely defenseless, to put it crudely; and very easy to destroy just as every complicated system is.

Therefore, I would like to say in conclusion that what is important now is a general understanding of the whole problem, an understanding by every person on our planet, an understanding by all the peoples. And the mass information media should bring this correct information to everyone, that this is a crucial moment in our history. Weapons systems are becoming so complicated that their further development will lead to the process which we have adopted and which, as it has not been very effective, could become totally ineffective; it will be very difficult for us to halt the arms race, especially if it moves into space.

[Vlasov] Allow me to give the floor to Roald Zinnurovich Sagdeyev.

[Sagdeyev] When we were faced with a change in practice in the strategic doctrine—even if it were based not on any detailed serious scientific arguments, but just on the vision of one man or a group of people or on dreams—we were, naturally, obliged to assemble quite a respectable force of scientists in order to carry out a serious scientific-technical analysis of the potential scenarios which could arise, scenarios in which the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative begins to be closely interwoven with all the forces of deterrence—nuclear deterrence—on which the current strategic balance is based. What were the results? It turns out that this extremely fanciful and expensive system—the cost is already being counted in trillions, many trillions, of dollars—it turns out that it is not an absolute shield. The shield turns out to have holes in it. Even if the opposing side does not alter its system of strategic strike weapons, today—according to the plans of the authors of SDI—it is a question of only 80 percent, or at most 90 percent repulsion of intercontinental missiles in flight.

If the shield has holes in it, would it not be simpler then, to make a first, disarming, strike so even a weakened, comparatively simple shield could intercept the considerably weakened retaliatory blow? This form of instability has been known for a comparatively long time and it is being very seriously regarded with a large degree of concern by all specialists in military strategy.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the argument often used by proponents of "star wars" in stirring up the imagination, in stirring up interest in the possibilities of science and technology, makes use, to a considerable extent, of the man in the street's enthusiasm for what science can do. But science cannot violate those laws of conservation which have been established by modern physics and modern chemistry. It cannot violate those simple, fundamental laws of strategic balance which have been established by military science.

Would it not be better for the forces of this science, the U.S. technical genius which we deeply respect, to be directed along another channel, a

channel which could bring real and tangible benefits for mankind in the struggle against hunger, against environmental pollution, and to grasp the secrets of the universe?

[Sagdeyev] Thank you.

[Vlasov] Thank you. If you please, who has a question?

[Question] (Konov), Central Television. A question for the participants in the press conference. How can you describe the present U.S. foreign policy line on ensuring security after the Geneva summit?

[Arbatov] Not that much time has passed since Geneva; one gets the impression that right-wing circles in the United States were seriously frightened by Geneva and are stepping up the pressure; we are having doubts about whether some U.S. politicians are backpedaling, as it is called in U.S. English: backpedaling [word in English]. You know Reagan said in Geneva that he wants a new start for Soviet-U.S. relations. But this requires the resolution of certain fundamental tasks.

One of these long-term tasks is that something must be done (?with this) distorted, terrible image of the Soviet Union which has been created in the United States. There is a monstrous series of pictures, like Rambo II, Rocky IV, and Red Dawn. I can see in front of me an ABC correspondent, whom I respect. They made a program called "America" which is to be shown as a series, with horrors about a Soviet occupation of the United States. I understand that possibly \$40 million has been invested in it, but I think this investment is just as dangerous, perhaps even more dangerous, than investing this \$40 million in the production of heroin or in drug smuggling in general. So, I think this now requires responsibility from all. If we want a new start we cannot live in the old way.

[Vlasov] We have some notes. Comrade (Ivkin), PRAVDA: It is known that certain circles in the United States, including some high-ranking figures in the Pentagon, are continuing, after the Geneva meeting, to insist not only on implementation, but also on accelerated realization, of the "star wars" program. At the same time, certain Western countries are being drawn into the implementation of this program; for example, Britain, which has already concluded the relevant agreement with the United States. Is this not a violation of Article 9 of the ABM Treaty; how will these actions affect prospects for attainment of an agreement on a radical reduction of nuclear weapons and for an improvement in the international situation as a whole?

[Velikhov] It is true that I am no lawyer, but as far as I know, the treaty on the limitation of antimissile defense requires that there be no transfer of designs or documentation for antimissile systems to third parties and no deployment on their territory of (?a component) of antimissile systems. It must be said that if Great Britain expects any kind of technical cooperation with the United States, then it will be counter to this treaty, as is also the case with the FRG.

[Vlasov] Please.

[Question] (Kubaishi) from Japanese television, NHK. Mr Arbatov, tell me please, what specific results do you expect from the forthcoming visit by Mr Gorbachev to the United States next year?

[Arbatov] The next summit meeting cannot be like the first. This, in my view, is clear to all. But we are expecting specific results from the next meeting and the whole world wants. I think both leaders will go to it carrying this burden. Comrade Gorbachev said that at the meeting with U.S. businessmen, speaking of this burden of responsibility which he felt when in Geneva. I think that now this burden will be even greater and (?this work is beginning today). Today and the forthcoming talks [as heard], all this should prepare for a productive meeting. The meeting should contribute something real to the main problems: the problem of security, the problem of reducing weapons, and the problem of disarmament.

[Question] I am a representative of TASS. How would you assess the points of contiguity between the Soviet and U.S. positions on the question of the 50 percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons? Are there any such points of contiguity on the question of medium-range weapons in Europe which would give a real chance of reaching a separate understanding on this question?

[Vlasov] Viktor Pavlovich, please.

[Starodubov] We hope that when the delegations meet at the talks in January the U.S. side will really go in for a radical reduction of all types of nuclear weapons which form part of the strategic balance of the sides and will not single out some particular types of weapons or some particular sections on which it is prepared to reduce by half while leaving the other half or the other sections either for reduction by some other ratio or completely untouched.

As for points of contiguity on questions of medium-range weapons in Europe, here too the key question is recognition of the fact that the medium-range weapons being deployed by the United States--first of all, the missiles such as Pershing-2 and cruise missiles--are part of the strategic balance. That is, it is impossible not to take them into account in the disposition of the strategic interrelations of the sides which currently exists and which will continue to exist after a radical reduction of strategic weapons.

[Question] I am Jozsef Havel, Hungarian radio. In the Soviet press one often comes across the formula that in Geneva President Reagan did not say the U.S. Administration's final word on SDI. Are there any real grounds for this hope and if so, what are they? This question is addressed to Comrade Arbatov.

[Arbatov] I would give a very brief answer to this: Let us wait and see.



[Question] I am a correspondent for the newspaper ASAHI. Will the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions be continued in 1986?

[Vlasov] You know that the Soviet moratorium was declared until 1 January 1986. And even though little time remains until the new year, the USSR believes there is still sufficient time to resolve this question. The USSR awaits a concrete and positive reply from the U.S. leadership, a positive decision which will have a very favorable effect on the entire world situation. As has already been stated by the Soviet leadership, the USSR is prepared to prolong this moratorium if reciprocity is shown by the U.S. leadership.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

SOVIET JOURNAL ON LINKAGE OF NUCLEAR, SPACE-BASED WEAPONRY

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 42, Oct 85 p 28

[Article by Alexei Podbereskin, Cand. Sc. (Hist.): "Taking Up a Point"]

[Text] Now and again it is said in this country that by pressing for a non-militarized outer space, the U.S.S.R. is shelving the prohibition and abolition of nuclear weapons, and even supplanting this fundamental objective of the peace movement with one that is secondary and less important. The papers even say that the arms race in space "is decades away."--Horst Weigel, Munster, West Germany

Firstly, it should be made clear that to place the effort to prevent the militarization of outer space in opposition to the campaign for the prohibition of nuclear weapons is quite wrong.

It must be realized that space-based strike weapons are being developed alongside the intensification of the Pentagon's programme to deploy new offensive strategic weapon systems such as MX, Midgetman, and Trident-2, and the B-1B and Stealth strategic bombers, as well as a new generation of cruise missiles. Is this mere coincidence? Nothing of the sort. The new phase of the arms race, which the U.S.A. is entering upon, is closely connected with the concept of a disarming first strike at the territories of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. These plans accord an important role to a wide-scale anti-missile defence system that would guarantee against a Soviet missile retaliation. In other words, nuclear and space-based weaponry are interlinked, and the U.S.A. is improving such weaponry in line with one concerted plan. This means that the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons cannot be achieved without noting Washington's attempts to take strike weaponry into outer space.

Hence the anti-satellite systems, which the Americans have devised and already tested, are frankly designed to enable the U.S.A. to acquire a strategically advantageous capability to deliver a sudden nuclear strike. No wonder experts regard the use of such systems as a prelude to a major war.

Next, space-based weaponry is not only for defence, but also for attack against targets on land and sea, in the air and in space. In other words, it may be classified as offensive weaponry. So how can one speak of

banning and destroying the nuclear arsenal while disregarding this highly dangerous weaponry?

Hence, the persistent effort to prevent weaponry being taken into outer space and the movement against the nuclear arms race are two sides of the same coin.

No wonder that at the January meeting which the Soviet and U.S. Foreign Ministers held to define the subject and purpose of the forthcoming Geneva talks on nuclear and space weaponry, it was emphasized that these negotiations, as all efforts to curb and reduce armaments, should be comprehensive and interconnected.

Already after this meeting the U.S.S.R. proposed the most radical cuts in strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weaponry. Naturally, this should be accompanied by a ban on the research, development, testing and deployment of that group of offensive weapons which came into the category of space-based strike weaponry.

Fresh confirmation of the Soviet leadership's special attention to this range of issues is afforded by the programme to improve the international situation which the U.S.S.R. recently proposed. This not only calls for a full ban on space-based strike weaponry, but also for a reduction by half of the Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons that can reach each other's territory. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. has taken a further new and daring initiative by removing from their standby alert the SS-20 intermediate-range missiles additionally deployed since June 1984. It has also submitted a proposal to start drafting a separate agreement on medium-range weapons. At the same time we have proposed a direct dialogue with France and Britain on this matter.

It must be specially emphasized--and this was clearly indicated by Mikhail Gorbachev on his visit to France--that implementation of the Soviet-proposed programme would also imply "essential progress towards so desired a purpose so important for all nations as the prohibition and complete abolition of nuclear weapons, as the complete deliverance of the human race from the nuclear war threat."

A few words now about the assertion that a space-based arms race "is decades away." This is a dangerous delusion. Even Western experts state that the individual components of a wide-scale ABM system will have already been deployed by the close of the next decade, that is, in 12-15 years from now, and that the entire ABM system will be here in 15-20 years. And this is not very far off. Furthermore, it is common knowledge that prevention is better than cure. Better to work against weaponry of whatever kind before its manufacture is under way.

If the U.S.A. and its allies start devising a wide-scale ABM system, the U.S.S.R. can only respond. This means that military competition will continue at a new, yet more dangerous level. Would such a denouement serve to shelve the problem of destroying nuclear weapons? I think the answer is obvious.

It should particularly be noted that the development of space-based strike weaponry means whipping up the arms race in all its aspects. Regardless of when the first space-based strike armaments appear, the ground is already being laid for whole new areas of military competition.

Experience gained over the decades since the end of the war indicates that not one of the Pentagon's militaristic programmes has ever stopped of its own accord. Experience also shows that Washington is not given to investing in pure ideas, all the more so on the scale that "star wars" require.

As for the claims made in the Western news media that the drive against the militarization of outer space is of "secondary" significance, that it is "not a topical issue," these are designed to disorient the peace movement. Nevertheless, increasingly broader sectors of the population are coming to realize the scale of the threat that Washington's "star wars" hold over the world. In this nuclear age, it is most important to be realistic, and to be aware of the full extent of the danger to the human race that may emanate from outer space.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### MOSCOW WEEKLY INTERVIEWS SED'S AXEN ON ARMS

PM211635 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 46, Nov 85 pp 14-15

[Interview in Berlin with Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, by correspondent Lev Yeliseyev: "Peace for Europe and for the World"]

[Text] NEW TIMES: Comrade Axen, how would you characterize the present situation in Europe and the world in the light of the proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Paris for preventing the militarization of outer space and stemming the nuclear arms race on earth?

Axen: The proposals for arms limitation and disarmament put forward by Comrade Gorbachev in Paris are undoubtedly the major peace initiative of recent time. They are a constructive step in preparation for his meeting with President Reagan, and mark the beginning of a new stage in the socialist countries' efforts to preserve peace and give a strong impulse to the peace movement worldwide. This realistic and timely move provides a chance of avoiding a new and extremely dangerous twist in the arms race, bringing about a radical change in Soviet-American relations, and improving the world climate. The constructive and unambiguous character of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals makes them an effective means of foiling the attempt of the more aggressive U.S. imperialist circles to gain military supremacy and destabilize the world situation with the aid of the Strategic Defence Initiative.

The proposals for keeping outer space free of strike weapons and for a 50 per cent reduction of Soviet and American strategic nuclear weapons are quickly winning broad recognition thanks to their boldness, clarity of purpose and easy logic. People the world over understand that the Soviet initiatives are concerned with the substance of the problem of averting the threat of nuclear war and achieving detente and disarmament.

Small wonder that the new Soviet peace initiatives have met with a generous response throughout the world. There is a growing realization that the cardinal question for humanity is to be understood in the terms in which it was formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev: either survive together or perish together. People understand that the Soviet proposals will help the human race to survive while the Pentagon's war plans, especially the adventurist

"star wars" programme (called the Strategic Defence Initiative by its authors to dupe and lull the public), only serve to bring closer the threat of annihilation of all life on our planet.

This explains why Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals have been wholeheartedly approved by Communist and Workers' parties, peace movements and all anti-imperialist and democratic forces. They have met with a positive response in Social Democratic and Green parties, at the Vienna conference of the Socialist International, in religious circles and, last but not least, amongst sober-minded members of the capitalist class. These proposals are the subject of lively discussions by governments and parliaments on all continents. Most of them note the constructive character of the Soviet initiatives and urge Washington to give them serious consideration and a favourable reply at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva and at the forthcoming Soviet-American summit. At a special meeting of the NATO Council in Brussels, the foreign ministers of the NATO countries asked Secretary of State Shultz not to let the SDI project undermine the ABM Treaty in any way and urged that a constructive reply should be given to the Soviet leader's proposals.

The stand taken by U.S. allies, mainly in Western Europe, has intensified discord in Washington between politicians who favour businesslike and constructive preparations for the Geneva summit and those who want to talk with Moscow from positions of strength.

On the eve of the Geneva summit the great socialist power is advancing one political initiative after another, thereby winning the public at large over to its cause.

**NEW TIMES:** What is the G.D.R. government doing to put the coordinated peaceful policy of the socialist community into effect?

**Axen:** Acting jointly with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the government of the German Democratic Republic is doing much to counter the imperialist policy of confrontation and start a new and lengthy period of detente, backed up by effective measures for arms limitation and disarmament. In the United Nations and at the Vienna, Geneva and Stockholm meetings, the G.D.R. government submitted concrete proposals which have contributed to the success of the talks on the basis of constructive compromises and the principles of equality and equal security.

As for bilateral relations, the G.D.R. is seeking to extend ties with all those who, like us, see no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence and who, also like us, are working to avert nuclear war. The G.D.R. favours a world coalition of all forces of peace and reason and is conducting a political dialogue with all sober-minded forces for the sake of the future. This aim has been further served by the official visits of State Council President Erich Honecker to Austria, Italy, Finland, Yugoslavia and Greece and by his talks with leaders in Canada, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, France and many other countries.



Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany hold an important place in the foreign policy of the G.D.R. The basic question of these relations is their contribution to peace. This is required by the lessons of history and the strategic position of the two German states on the line dividing the two opposing social systems and the two major military alliances of our time.

The G.D.R. wants to have businesslike and good-neighbourly relations with the F.R.G. based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and the agreements concluded earlier. The G.D.R. regards as important the following passage from the joint statement of Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl after their meeting in Moscow on March 12 this year: "The inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states within their present frontiers are an essential condition of peace. Never again must the threat of war come from German soil. Peace must come from German soil."

The F.R.G. government should bear in mind, however, that European peoples and states judge it not only by its words but above all by its actions. And here the following questions should be answered:

--What is the F.R.G. government's attitude to the American "star wars" programme?

--What is its stand on the question of ending the deployment of American first-strike weapons and removing them from F.R.G. soil?

--What is the F.R.G. government's reply to the G.D.R. and Czechoslovak proposal to establish a chemical weapon-free zone in Central Europe?

--What does it think of revanchist calls, renewed in an atmosphere of confrontation, for a revision of the postwar peace arrangement in Europe?

NEW TIMES: Some West European politicians, including politicians in the F.R.G. are putting the case for the Strategic Defence Initiative. What are the likely consequences of European NATO countries participating in the SDI project?

Axen: You say "some politicians" with justice, because the governments of France, Holland, Greece, Canada, Denmark, Belgium, Norway, Spain and Portugal have already declared they will not be involved in this project while the governments of other countries are holding a final decision on the SDI in abeyance.

If, under pressure from the more aggressive U.S. circles, these politicians were to succeed in involving their countries in the SDI project, this step would have sinister consequences:

1. The arms race in outer space, as President Mitterrand and others believe, would completely destabilize international relations, increase the danger of war, and greatly complicate arms control talks.

2. The installation of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe has not made it more secure, and there is even less hope that West European security will increase if the SDI is implemented. Edward Teller, father of the American H-bomb and an advocate of the SDI, recently on the F.R.G. television said that, even with the SDI, effective protection of the United States from a Soviet retaliatory blow was impossible. What the authors of the "star wars" programme really want is to make the United States capable of delivering the first nuclear blow at the Soviet Union with impunity and to make the Soviet Union incapable of striking a retaliatory blow at the aggressor.

3. The participation of West European countries in the SDI project would still further increase their political, military, economic, scientific and technological dependence on the United States. Access to the "technological progress" of the United States is an illusion. In fact, the United States intends to make wide use of West European and Japanese technology to carry out its "star wars" plans. This will mean a gigantic brain drain and the use of man's achievements to satisfy imperialist greed for profit and to further the pursuit of world domination. There can be no other aims.

4. The economic, scientific and technological "haemorrhage" caused by participation in the SDI project would greatly aggravate the crisis in West European countries.

All this, as well as the dangerous and provocative policy of the more aggressive imperialist circles on the eve of the Geneva summit (the stepping up of the undeclared wars against Nicaragua and Afghanistan, armed attacks on Angola, Mozambique and Botswana, the virtual dismemberment of the tormented Lebanon, the piratical interception of airliners over the Mediterranean, etc.) impels most West European countries to be cautious and to assess the new situation. Their very existence, their national, political, economic, scientific and technological interests are imperilled not by the socialist countries, but by the U.S. in its pursuit of domination and plans for dangerous conflicts and a devastating war in Europe. A real way out of this hazardous predicament was shown by Comrade Gorbachev when he spoke of the European situation in Paris.

NEW TIMES: Comrade Axen, you took part in the talks with the Social Democratic Party, the largest opposition party in the F.R.G., on the question of establishing a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe. In September of this year the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia proposed to the F.R.G. government that such a zone be set up on the continent. Some people think, however, that this problem should be solved on a global, not a regional, scale. How would you comment on this argument?

Axen: The initiative of the Socialist Unity Party and the Social Democratic Party, and the proposal of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovak governments, have evoked a broad response in the world. They have become a subject of political and diplomatic talks and an element in the struggle for peace. The idea of creating a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe was backed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Paris and by the Socialist International, which adopted a special resolution on this question at its Vienna conference.

I have this to say about the attempt to present the regional initiative and a global convention on chemical disarmament as diametrically opposed ideas: Together with other socialist countries, the G.D.R. has for many years called for a global ban on chemical weapons and for the destruction of these weapons. The Geneva disarmament talks have been dragging on for almost 15 years, with no result so far. A rapid and successful conclusion of these talks is not expected due to U.S. delaying tactics (unwarranted demands for control and the burdening of the talks with technical details). Those who are trying to limit the discussion to the Geneva talks do not want rapid progress on this question, which is so vitally important to Europe. Weapons are being modernized at an accelerated rate. The United States will soon begin the production of a new-generation and extremely dangerous-binary-chemical weapon. This will dramatically increase the danger of the chemical weapons race and the worldwide proliferation of these weapons. It is therefore necessary to act now and find acceptable ways and means of removing the threat of a regional and worldwide proliferation of chemical weapons.

First of all, chemical weapons should be prohibited in Central Europe where the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw alliance lies. A considerable quantity of chemical weapons is concentrated there, and the likelihood of these weapons being used is therefore very great. A regional approach to the achievement of global objectives is not something new. It is quite justified and is envisaged in a number of international documents (for instance, the decisions of the U.N. special sessions on disarmament). One might mention, for example, the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America. Arms limitation and disarmament measures on a regional scale are being worked out at the Stockholm conference and at the Vienna talks. It is simpler and quicker to find a regional solution to the chemical weapons problem than to abolish chemical weapons on a global scale. Experts believe that the latter goal would take about ten years to achieve. A successful solution of this problem on a regional scale would greatly stimulate the simultaneous search for a global solution. A regional solution would create the atmosphere of trust that Europe so badly needs.

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CSO: 5200/1204

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

TASS CITES FRANCE'S MERMAZ ON SUMMIT, SDI

LD161311 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 16 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, December 16 TASS--Louis Merma, president of the National Assembly of France, returned to Moscow after a tour of the Soviet Union. Today he met in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with a group of members of the Soviet Parliament. The participants in the conversation expressed the shared opinion that the Soviet-French summit meeting in Paris has given a fresh impetus to the development of friendly Soviet-French relations. It was stressed that their deepening and the tapping of all available reserves meets the vital interests of the peoples of both countries and helps improve the international climate.

It was emphasized that despite the differences in their political systems, it is essential for the two countries to jointly look for new approaches and ways of achieving mutual understanding and establishing cooperation. A significant role can be played in these efforts by Soviet and French parliamentarians who have for many years contributed to maintaining traditionally good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

It was stressed by the Soviet side that the USSR, engaging in peaceful, constructive work, firmly stands on the positions of a policy of promoting peace and transition from confrontation to detente. This is borne out by the whole package of constructive and realistical measures proposed by the Soviet Union, whose implementation would lead to a real breakthrough in the development of international relations from the benefit of peace and to progress in banning and scrapping nuclear weapons and in completely delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear war. This policy line was convincingly reaffirmed during the Soviet-American summit dialogue in Geneva. But the American "star wars" program is the main stumbling block on the path of resolving the cardinal issue of the times, that of bridling the arms race on earth and preventing its spread to outer space.

It was pointed out that interaction with France, just as with other European states, in preventing the militarization of outer space can make a substantial contribution to improving the international situation in a fundamental way.

Louis Mermaz expressed much satisfaction with his conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. For the first time, he said, he has had an opportunity to have a separate meeting with the Soviet leader. The conversation was very sincere, everything said there is of much interest and, Louis Mermaz said, he will report its content to President Francois Mitterrand of France.

The arms race represents a grave threat to humanity and it is imperative to do everything to slow it down and stop it. France, Louis Mermaz said, is opposed to the militarization of outer space, considers the "star wars" project to be dangerous and will not participate in research under the SDI program.

The guest spoke out for further consolidating contacts between the parliaments of the two countries and stepping up Soviet-French relations in various fields.

Taking part in the conversation were Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Vladimir Karpov, Sergey Losev and Stepan Chervonenko.

A luncheon was given for the president of the National Assembly of France on behalf of the chairmen of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

PRAVDA EDITORIAL ARTICLE VIEWS 'GENEVA ACCORDS'

LD121831 Moscow TASS: in English 1812 GMT 12 Dec 85

["To Realize Geneva Accords"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, December 12 TASS—The newspaper PRAVDA, in its December 13 issue, carries an editorial article entitled "To Realize Geneva Accords", which says:

Time is carrying us further away from the days of 1985 when General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan had a meeting in Geneva on November 19-21. This event remains, however, without exaggeration, in the focus of attention worldwide. Its results, direct influence on the course of international affairs and possible implications for the development of the situation in the long run are being examined everywhere.

The great work, carried out by the Soviet delegation in Geneva, received enthusiastic support from the Soviet people and unanimous approval from allies and friends of the Soviet Union, finds broad understanding, approval and backing from realistically minded state and political figures, wide sections of the world public.

It is already clear to all that the Geneva meeting has become a major political event of international life. In the current turning period in the development of international relations, in the conditions when mankind is facing the choice of survival or the threat of annihilation, the Soviet-American summit meeting was necessary and useful. Its results create possibilities for transition from the state of dangerous confrontation to constructive searches for ways to normalize Soviet-American relations and improve the international situation on the whole.

The meeting centred on the most vital, most burning problems of our time—the problem of war and peace. In the course of hard, sometimes, acute negotiations, the sides impartially examined and assessed the central problem of Soviet-American relations—the security problem, and above all preventing an arms race in outer space and reducing nuclear armaments on earth in their organic interrelationship. Regrettably, no accord was achieved on this issue. At the same time, it is of principled significance

that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States declared in their joint statement: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. They emphasized the importance of preventing any war between the two countries, whether nuclear or conventional, and undertook not to seek to achieve military superiority.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee in its decision on the results of the meeting pointed out that, in this sense, the outcome of the Geneva talks is capable of exerting positive influence on the political and psychological climate in present-day international relations, improving them and diminishing the risk of nuclear war. The meeting laid the groundwork for dialogue with a view to achieving changes for the better in Soviet-American relations, and in the world at large. [Moscow TASS in English at 2300 GMT on 12 December transmitted a service message deleting the preceding sentence.]

The Soviet Union convincingly favours the consolidation of trust between all states, development of equitable mutually beneficial and constructive cooperation between them, irrespective of differences in their socio-political systems.

The Soviet Union and the United States bear special responsibility for the character of world development due to their military, economic, scientific and technical potential, and international weight. The results of the summit meeting show that the USSR in its approach to the Geneva dialogue took into account its historical responsibility for the destinies of peace.

Meanwhile, the most reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism, the military-industrial complex and its placement in the American Administration did their utmost up to the final day on the eve of the summit to either thwart it, or turn this major political dialogue into a "dialogue of the deaf". The story with the "leakage" of the notorious "Weinberger letter" in which the Pentagon chief urged the President not to concede on a single item of the agenda of the talks is only one of the illustrations of the attempts to torpedo the meeting.

The Soviet Union realistically assessed the existing situation: The course towards confrontation, adopted by the overseas "hawks", is unpopular in America, in Western Europe and the world at large. We proceeded from the premise that it is necessary to use any, no matter how slight, chance to reverse the dangerous course of world events. That is precisely why the USSR, in the process of preparations for the meeting, combined a firm rebuff to the U.S. line towards disrupting military-strategic equilibrium with the advancement of large-scale peace initiatives, manifestation of constructiveness in the approach to the questions of peace and security.

The same approach was displayed in the course of the Geneva meeting to which the Soviet Union came with the realization that, if a direct and frank dialogue is not started today, this will be a hundred times more difficult to do tomorrow, if not altogether impossible.

The USSR came to Geneva with a concrete programme of improving the international atmosphere and bilateral relations between the two countries, with radical proposals in the field of arms reduction and concerning the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

What is the essence of the Soviet proposals? They are based on the premise that Soviet-American relations must adhere to the immutable principle--that of ensuring equal security for both sides. It is necessary to get used to strategic parity as the natural state of bilateral relations.

The unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, introduced by the Soviet side, is of immense importance for preserving and strengthening peace. If the United States agrees to stop nuclear blasts, the moratorium will become termless. As a result, an end will be put to the improvement of nuclear weapons and they will begin gradually to wither away.

The USSR proposed a total ban on strike space armaments. No matter how they might be called--a "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI) on developing anti-missile systems, a space "shield", and so on, the peoples ought to know the truth about them. And we frankly set forth this truth in Geneva again and again. The development of strike space armaments will not strengthen anyone's security. On the contrary, nuclear systems, protected by a space "shield", will become ever more dangerous.

As a result, the existing treaty mechanisms curbing the arms race, primarily the ABM Treaty, will collapse and the present-day strategic balance will therefore be reduced to strategic chaos, pushing up the feverish arms race in every direction to a point at which it will become totally uncontrollable. Mistrust among countries will grow and their security will diminish considerably.

Space weapons are not at all defensive. They can give rise to the dangerous illusion that it is possible to deliver the first nuclear strike from behind a space "shield" and to avert or at least weaken retaliation. There is no guarantee that those who will develop the "shield" will not be tempted to use space weapons also to hit targets on earth.

Proceeding from the principle of equality and equal security, the USSR suggested that all the nuclear systems of the USSR and the USA capable of reaching each other's territories be reduced by half on the condition of a total ban on space strike weapons.

Our approach is fair and honest. It embraces all those systems which enter the strategic balance of forces and makes it possible to account for the dimensions of the nuclear threat actually facing each of the sides.

The Soviet proposals are not aimed at detracting from U.S. security. This is noted, in particular, by many arms specialists, among them even former U.S. defense secretaries. The lamentations of the Pentagon propagandists that the USSR's proposals are aimed at "preserving intact" its more accurate and powerful missiles are intended for the uninformed. Our

proposals envision that the number of such ICBMs will be reduced and that the share of their warheads in the total of nuclear munitions will be limited.

Certain circles in the West also are making much fuss over Soviet medium-range missiles. We offer substantial reductions in them in the context of the solution of the problem of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe.

But this problem cannot be tackled without counting the nuclear systems of Britain and France. We are ready to look for solutions here as well and to this end the Soviet Union suggests that direct exchanges of opinion with France and Britain be started.

The U.S. President was upholding in Geneva, with perseverance worthy of a better cause, the legal and moral right of his country to pursue the "star wars" program. The U.S. position rules out any ban on the development of space strike weapons. Moreover, the proposal was made that their development should be "legalized."

We said most definitely in Geneva: The USSR will find an answer to the deployment of space strike weapons. Past experience bears proof to this. Moreover, it will be an effective and quite prompt answer which would be less costly than the U.S. program. But this will be done only if we have no other choice. Our preference is a different road, "star peace" rather than "star wars."

The Geneva talks on the problems of curbing the arms race were keen and utmostly frank. Political and propaganda trivialities have no room here: Too much depends on the solution of these problems.

The unwillingness of the U.S. leadership to renounce the "star wars" program made it impossible in Geneva to find solutions to major questions related to the task of ending the arms race. The numbers of stockpiled weapons have not diminished as a result of the summit and the arms race is going on.

Continuing to uphold its positions of principle, the Soviet delegation made immense efforts to achieve accords on major problems of war and peace.

To begin with, the sides agreed to speed up the accomplishment of the tasks formulated in the joint Soviet-American statement of January 1985, those of averting an arms race in space and terminating it on earth, limiting and reducing nuclear armaments and strengthening strategic stability.

Clearly, the positions of the two sides have points of contact and make it possible to look for mutually acceptable solutions on radical reductions in nuclear armaments with a ban on space strike weapons. New radical reductions in nuclear armaments are not possible without the latter. It is to be hoped that what Washington said on the SDI in Geneva is not its last word. At the same time it is clear that the fact of continued talks must not in itself be a justification or cover for the arms race.



The USSR and the USA reiterated in Geneva also their commitment to contribute in every way to the higher effectiveness of the regime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and agreed on joint practical steps in that field. This also is a contribution to maintaining world stability and belittling the risk of nuclear war.

The joint advocacy of the universal and complete elimination of such barbarous weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons by the leaders of the USSR and the USA has fundamental importance.

Agreement was reached to contribute, jointly with the other states participating in the Stockholm conference to its early completion with the adoption of a document which would include both concrete commitments on the non-use of force and mutually acceptable confidence-building measures.

Recognizing the usefulness of the exchanges of opinion on regional questions, the sides agreed to continue such exchanges on a regular basis.

Useful agreements were reached on a number of other questions of the development of bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the USA. They can provide a good base for raising the level of trust between our countries and peoples, naturally, if care is taken of those agreements and if everything positive inbuilt in them is developed rather than artificial pretexts looked for to overturn them.

Accord was reached in Geneva--and it is very important--that political contacts between the USSR and the USA, first and foremost summit-level contacts, would be continued.

The Geneva meeting has major importance, primarily because it is opening possibilities for the normalization of relations between the USSR and the USA and for an overall improvement in the international situation. The agreements reached in Geneva can exert a long-term positive influence on the course of world development if they are translated into practical deeds.

The Soviet side regards the accords reached in Geneva in all seriousness and will be seeking to improve both the overall atmosphere and the contents of Soviet-American relations on the basis of mutual respect and full equality without any discrimination. The USSR is prepared in the spirit of honest cooperation with the United States to seek the folding up of the arms race if it is kept away from space, and to improve the world situation. We have a right to expect a similar approach from the USA. "...We have entered a particularly crucial period, when words, intentions and political statements should be translated into concrete decisions and action," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech on the occasion of the annual ASTEC meeting. "What I have in mind, as you understand, are such decisions and such actions as would contribute to putting Soviet-American relations on an even keel and to a general improvement in the world political climate."

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR REPORTAGE ON NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING

#### Session Opens

LD121315 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 12 Dec 85

[Text] Brussels, December 12 TASS--The NATO's Council's two-day session, the final stage of the winter-time "Atlantic Marathon"--a series of conferences among the leading bodies of the North Atlantic bloc--opened here today.

It is being attended by the ministers of foreign affairs of the 16 member-countries of the alliance. The foreign ministers are to couch in a diplomatic form the guidelines for a further build-up of the bloc's military potential and for the exercise of its military-political strategy for the near future and for a longer term, particularly in the light of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva. Concrete decisions on that score were taken by the defence ministers at the sessions of NATO's Eurogroup and the defence planning committee.

The decisions of those bodies and the pronouncements voiced at their sessions were indicative of an intention to proceed along the arms race course and, in particular, to go ahead with the deployment of new U.S. first-strike missiles in Western Europe, with the modernization and build-up of conventional arms.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who arrived in Western Europe before the session, has already called on the NATO partners to show caution and vigilance when interpreting the results of the Geneva summit. During bilateral meetings he went on manipulating his West European colleagues with a view to drawing them into participation in the "star wars" programme which is being developed by Washington. With this end in view the United States is planning widely to use Britain which always obediently follows in the wake of Washington's policy, and with which an agreement on its participation in the SDI has already been signed. The United States also tries to secure an official consent on that score from the FRG before the year is out.

It is pointed out in the NATO circles that the "star wars" topic will figure prominently in discussions at the NATO Council's session. The problems of dividing the "pie" of military orders will be discussed there at the

same time. In this field, there is an intensifying rivalry between the military-industrial complexes of the United States and of its West European partners.

The Belgian press reports that the NATO Council's session will become a continuation of the pressure put on Holland by the USA and its closest allies for the purpose of making the government of that country reconsider its decision to give up the accomplishment of part of "nuclear missions"--the use of some types of nuclear weapons in the event of war--assigned to it by the NATO leadership.

#### Communique Adopted

LD121938 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 12 Dec 85

[Text] Brussels, December 12 TASS--TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

The foreign ministers of the NATO member-countries, attending the NATO Council session here, today approved of a new strategy to improve cooperation in the sphere of armaments. Judging by the communique, which has been distributed here, what is at issue is only..."a search for ways" of attaining these aims.

An official representative of the NATO headquarters has admitted at a press conference that it would be an exceedingly painful and difficult process for partners to be pleased with such cooperation. This is no wonder since the United States has monopolized the exceedingly profitable NATO market of armaments and bars its allies from that market. It is to be noted that the communique did not reflect at all the West Europeans' complaint of long standing that it is necessary to have in the sphere of purchases of armaments a "two-way traffic" between the United States and Western Europe.

But the main thing is that the communique does not mention at all the slightest possibility for the NATO bloc to end the arms race which is being steadily escalated by the Pentagon. In other words, in NATO they do not even think of giving up the former militaristic course. This means that also after the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva the NATO men, above all from the United States, continue making stake on the force of arms.

Another confirmation of that course is the information, that leaked into journalists' circles, on bilateral contacts which were undertaken in Brussels by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz during yesterday and today. One of the topics of his conversations with the FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has reportedly been Bonn's early involvement into the American "star wars" programme.

TV Report

LD132151 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 13 Dec 85

[From "The World Today" program presented by Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] In Brussels, a session of foreign ministers of the NATO countries has ended. An important place in it was occupied by questions linked with relations between East and West. U.S. Secretary of State Shultz informed the participants in the meeting of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva. He set forth the position of the U.S. Administration on a broad range of problems of Soviet-U.S. relations. He called on the U.S. partners in the bloc to show caution in interpreting the results of the Geneva dialogue, and not to count on definite, speedy results.

The head of the U.S. State Department devoted most attention to attempts to draw the West European allies into participation in implementation of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Here Shultz made use of the position held by the British Conservative government, which has already signed an agreement with Washington on participation in the "star wars" program. However, these efforts by the U.S. emissary met with opposition from a number of other participants in the meeting. If nothing else, the fact that the final communique of the session makes no mention of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative attests to this. The West European ministers said that they consider it important to continue the dialogue begun in Geneva, and appealed for it to be conducted in a constructive spirit. At a press conference which was held, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher in particular spoke of this.

At the same time, an analysis of the communique adopted in Brussels shows that it contains no definite, constructive proposals in the field of disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, which might lend support to the thesis proclaimed in the communique about the alliance's dedication to achieving definite progress at the talks. The participants in the NATO Council session reaffirmed their intention of continuing deployment [razvertyvaniye] of U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in West Europe, and their efforts to maintain conventional and nuclear arms at an appropriate level.

Communique Analyzed

LD140013 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 13 Dec 85

[Text] Brussels, December 13 TASS--The NATO Council's two-day session at the foreign ministers' level brought to a close the winter-time "Atlantic marathon"--a series of sessions of the leading bodies of the North Atlantic bloc--here today. The foreign ministers of the 16 member-states recorded in their final communique the NATO leadership's views on the main problems of international development in the light of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva. Observers point out that the communique has become a sort of diplomatic cover for concrete decisions in the military

field, the decisions which are aimed at further building up the arsenal of nuclear and conventional arms and which were worked out at the sessions of NATO's Eurogroup and the Defence Planning Committee with the participation of defence ministers. An analysis of the communique shows that it lacks concrete and constructive proposals in the field of disarmament, nuclear one, in the first place, proposals which would confirm the proclaimed thesis as to the alliance's being committed to achieving concrete progress at the talks.

Following the defence ministers, the participants in the NATO Council's session confirmed the intention to go ahead with the deployment of U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe and with efforts to maintain conventional and nuclear arms at a proper level. An annotation to the communique has it that Denmark and Greece took up a special attitude towards the question of deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The problem of attitude towards the "star wars" programme being developed by Washington figured prominently during the discussions at the sessions and at bilateral meetings which U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has held with a number of his counterparts, seeking their consent to participation in the SDI. With this end in view he also used Britain which had already given consent to such participation. However, according to a correspondent of the British newspaper GUARDIAN, to most NATO member-states the SDI remains too debatable a problem for them to approve it immediately. This is reflected by the absence of any mention of the SDI in the communique.

The participants in the session reached agreement in principle on the development of cooperation in the sphere of arms production, taking into account the intensifying struggle between the military-industrial complexes of individual member-states during the distribution of military orders. The session results show that NATO's top leadership, despite the vigorous anti-war movement which has developed in NATO countries and which is demanding concrete steps in the field of detente and disarmament, has not abandoned its previous "tough" course in the international arena, the course which does not promote a solution to the existing problems in a constructive spirit.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR COMMENT ON NATO NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP MID-DECEMBER MEETING

LD121003 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2011 GMT 11 Dec 85

[Text] Brussels, 11 Dec (TASS)--The adherence of the North Atlantic bloc to a course of military preparations was demonstrated today at the session of the so-called special consultative NATO Nuclear Planning Group. This group was originally set up allegedly to coordinate the stances of the Atlantic allies on the matter of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The United States, however, has long since turned it into a propaganda organ of NATO, called upon to mislead world public opinion regarding the genuine aims of the West in the sphere of arms control.

In this respect the present session of the group has not been an exception. As is apparent from the communique circulated in Brussels, the NATO allies have affirmed their decision of 1983 on the deployment [razvertivaniye] in Western Europe (FRG, Britain, Italy, Belgium, and Holland) of U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles--"Pershing II" and cruise missiles. They have stated that the siting of nuclear missile weapons will continue on schedule, and that by the end of this year the number of missiles already sited will reach 140. In the communique an attempt was made to distort the actual balance of medium-range weapons held by the USSR and the United States. The communique also intentionally misrepresented the state of affairs at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments. The participants at the session, however, could not help but mention in the communique the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. As A. Holmes, assistant to the U.S. secretary of state on military and political affairs, announced, the group welcomed the call by the leaders of the United States and the USSR for more rapid progress in the matter of achieving an interim agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

SOVIET ARMY PAPER VIEWS NATO WINTER SESSIONS

PM091434 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 85 Second Edition p 3

[Captain 2d Rank V. Kuzar "Military-Political Review": "NATO: New Words, Same Old Policy"]

[Text] "The European home is a common home, where geography and history have closely intertwined the fates of dozens of countries and peoples. The Europeans can preserve their home and make it better and safer only collectively, by observing the sensible norms of international contacts and cooperation." This statement by M.S. Gorbachev in his report to the USSR Supreme Soviet session not only demonstrates the Soviet Union's anxiety over Europe's future fate; it also indicates the way to ensure security in the continent. It is a vitally important task of European peoples to seek the relaxation of tension and the strengthening of trust among peoples collectively, by means of joint efforts.

Displaying concern for a radical reduction of the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe taking into account the interests of the USSR, the United States, and all states in the continent, the Soviet Union has put forward specific and far-reaching proposals. Their implementation would undoubtedly lead to Europe's total liberation from nuclear weapons--both medium-range and tactical--which would ultimately help to consolidate the security of all European peoples and of peoples all over the world.

It is, of course, very important in today's conditions for all West European countries, and primarily the NATO member-states, to actively contribute to this process. This is why people of good will waited impatiently to see how the NATO states' leaders would respond to the Soviet peace-loving actions.

In the event, they did not have to wait too long. A number of conferences, sessions, and meetings of West European politicians, statesmen, and military men took place this week. They included the Luxembourg session of the European Council at the level of EEC member-states' heads of state and government, the 31st session of the Western European Union Assembly, and the Brussels sessions of NATO's military organs. What was the general outcome?

Quite a few new-sounding words were spoken in Luxembourg, in Paris, and in Brussels about the complex situation in the world and on the continent and

about the need to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament. A positive evaluation was made of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva. Hopes were expressed concerning the possibility of making progress in the easing of international tension.

Unfortunately, however, matters did not progress any further than words. The specific decisions and recommendations adopted at these conferences, and primarily at the NATO organs' sessions, are evidence of a continuation of the course previously pursued by ruling circles in most North Atlantic bloc countries; a course aimed at attaining military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact.

Take for example the 2 December session of NATO's Eurogroup. It was attended by defense ministers from 12 West European bloc member-countries (excluding France and Iceland). The participants in the session directly confirmed in the final communique their intention to continue building relations with the socialist countries from positions of strength. They not only advocated a continuation of the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on the continent, but also expressed "satisfaction" with the fact that their deployment "is proceeding on schedule." And yet it is well known that it was the appearance of these first-strike nuclear weapons on West European territory that led to an exacerbation of the international situation and is a serious obstacle to the relaxation of that situation.

The defense ministers approved the efforts made by NATO's European members to boost the bloc's military power. The communique makes it clear that stockpiles of ammunition for the most important combat systems have been increased and that measures are being taken to enhance NATO's capability to conduct combat operations over an extended period of time. The funds allocated for improving the bloc's infrastructure are double the previous amount. Extensive programs to modernize military equipment and materiel are being implemented in all European NATO countries.

But the Atlanticists did not find all this sufficient. The NATO Eurogroup adopted a decision on the further buildup of conventional arms. For example, purchases in 1986 will include 900 new tanks and armored vehicles, mainly Leopard-2 and Challenger tanks; 100 heavy field guns; 250 warplanes, including 180 Tornados and F-16's; an aircraft carrier, 3 submarines, and 6 landing ships; and large quantities of other combat equipment. At the same time the desire to continue efforts to standardize armaments and create new types of them was emphasized.

Even more militaristic decisions were made at the session of the NATO Military Planning Committee, which was attended by defense ministers and chief of general staff from NATO countries (excluding France) and commanders of the NATO allied forces. This was no accident. The tone there was set by U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger. He actively "indoctrinated" his partners, seeking their support for the "star wars" program. And he found people willing to help the Pentagon in its criminal plans.

Immediately after the NATO session, Weinberger and British Defense Secretary Heseltine made their way to London. They signed there, on 6 December, a "memorandum of understanding" providing for Britain's participation in research work for the implementation of the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative." Britain has thus become the first European country to agree to participate in a most dangerous venture by those who are straining to achieve military hegemony on earth and in space.

West Germany is also due to determine its final attitude toward the "star wars" program by the end of this year. Meanwhile, FRG Defense Minister Woerner "announced" at the Military Planning Committee's session a new militarist production program, the so-called "European Defense Initiative" (EDI). Its goal is to...supplement Washington's "Strategic Defense Initiative" with some kind of a "European alternative." It became known that it involves the creation [sozdaniye] of an ABM system designed to destroy missiles and aircraft by using the latest military-technical means, including laser weapons.

It appears that, according to DER SPIEGEL's reports, these plans originated in Bonn back in 1982, in other words, immediately after the right-wing conservative government came to power. By now the "Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm" and "Karl Diehl" military concerns have already created [sozdat] a mock-up of a laser installation for destroying airborne targets. A few more years and "a few hundred million deutschmarks" will be required to complete the development [razrabotka] of combat laser installations and begin their series production.

The creation [sozdaniye] of an electromagnetic gun is another avenue of development [razrabotka] in progress. Both types of weapons are being developed [razrabatyvatsya] as ground-based means, while their ancillary search and guidance facilities will be space-based.

Woerner's NATO colleagues have not yet determined their attitude toward this idea. But U.S. General Rogers, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, "has spoken very highly of the SDI." As DER SPIEGEL notes, he considers that such a system is perfectly realistic, provided "the Europeans pool their potential and coordinate the relevant work with the U.S. SDI program." Detailed comment is superfluous here, so to speak. What we have here is a manifestation of West German militarism's imperial ambitions. Being the initiator of a qualitatively new military program implemented under its direct leadership, Bonn is bidding for a dominant role among the West European NATO allies.

Following the Pentagon chief's lead, the participants in the NATO session exerted particular pressure on the Netherlands, which has decided to curtail the performance of some of the nuclear tests assigned to it by the bloc's leadership. It is well known that the Netherlands, according to the distribution of NATO roles, must store, service, and be ready to use nuclear landmines and warheads for the Nike-Hercules antiaircraft missiles, depth charges for the Orion P-3C aircraft, bombs for the F-16 fighter-interceptors, warheads for the Lance tactical missiles, and shells for 203.2 mm artillery pieces.

The Netherlands Government is now abandoning some of these tasks in connection with the agreement to deploy 48 U.S. cruise missiles. It is thus trying to blunt the edge of demonstrations by members of the antimissile movement. But this "willfulness" has angered the NATO ruling clique, which fears the creation of a "dangerous precedent."

Addressing the Military Planning Committee's session, the Pentagon chief announced the U.S. Senate's decision to appropriate \$200 million for the construction of facilities linked with the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles in West European countries. What does this action by Washington indicate? It indicates that the Pentagon intends to establish itself with its nuclear missiles firmly and for a long time on the European Continent. The solemn declaration by the participants in the NATO session of their "readiness" to halt the deployment of medium-range nuclear means and even to embark on their reduction, elimination, and dismantling "in the event that a balanced, fair, and verifiable agreement is reached" somehow does not square with this intention.

For several years now the Atlanticists have discussed at their sessions the question of expanding NATO's zone of responsibility. This formula covers up plans to ensure direct armed participation by the bloc countries in resolving conflicts and in stifling struggles by freedom-loving peoples practically anywhere on the planet. This has already happened during the Anglo-Argentine war for the Falklands (Malvinas), the show of strength in the Persian Gulf and off the Nicaraguan coast, and the armed interference in Lebanon's affairs. And now the NATO countries are concentrating their forces in the southern Mediterranean, spearheading them against the conflict between Egypt and Libya, which is growing as a result of Washington's incitement.

As for the latest session of NATO's Military Planning Committee, its participants again spoke in favor of expanding the zone of the bloc's responsibility. Hiding behind the imaginary threat against "vitally important interests of members of the alliance," they voted for taking compensatory measures to ensure the use of the U.S. interventionist Rapid Deployment Force outside the North Atlantic bloc's sphere of action.

Many of the problems that were touched upon at the Atlantic sessions will be discussed and approved at the NATO Council session. Its work at the level of the bloc member-countries' foreign ministers will take place 12-13 December. It is, nevertheless, already perfectly obvious that, by stepping up their military efforts and contrary to all reason, the enemies of detente are planting a dangerous mine beneath the foundations of our common European home.

Europe is being subjected to grave danger by the strongarm policy preached by the Atlanticists under pressure from the transatlantic "hawks." But it can and must set an example in the solution of the most complex problems of life today and play an important role in overcoming the phase of confrontation and affirming the policy of easing tension. The Soviet Union persistently calls on the European peoples to do this.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### SOVIET COMMENT ON SHULTZ VISIT TO WEST, EAST EUROPE

#### Visit to FRG

LD141848 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 14 Dec 85

[Text] Bonn, December 14 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has paid a brief visit to the FRG after visiting Britain and Belgium where he attended the NATO Council's session at foreign ministers' level.

Mr Shultz met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher as well as with representatives of the opposition Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)—Willy Brandt, SPD chairman, and Johannes Rau, SPD deputy chairman, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia. Matters of East-West relations as well as problems connected with the U.S. "star wars" programme were touched upon during the conversations.

Local mass media regard the visit of the U.S. secretary of state as an attempt at putting pressure on the FRG to make it join, following Britain's example, in the U.S. space-militarization plans. The ARD TV network has directly connected the visit by George Shultz with the forthcoming meeting of the FRG's Government on December 18, the meeting during which a final decision is expected to be taken on attitude to the SDI. A U.S. high official has stated at a briefing in Bonn that the United States is hoping that the FRG will join the "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI) which has been worked out by the Reagan administration.

Today George Shultz, accompanied by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, left for West Berlin.

West Berlin, December 14 TASS—A mass demonstration has taken place here in protest against the visit to the city by the U.S. secretary of state. Thousands of demonstrators marched through the central street of West Berlin, carrying placards and banners proclaiming "Let missiles remain in the USA!", "No to weapons in space!", and "Jobs, not SDI".



'Spirit of Interference'

LD151250 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 15 Dec 85

["Shultz Arrives"--TASS headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Dec (TASS)--U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived today for a visit to Bucharest on the invitation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania. He will also visit Hungary and Yugoslavia.

In a number of speeches before this trip, the secretary of state made statements in the spirit of [vdukhe] interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. He declared, inter alia, that the United States would like "to facilitate a more open atmosphere in states neighboring on the Soviet Union." The essence of U.S. policy in regard to the socialist countries, as Shultz' statements witness, consists in seeking out and fostering tendencies which are "positive" ones from the U.S. point of view. This statement once again demonstrates that the U.S. Administration is betting on weakening the countries of the socialist community, on estranging them one from the other, and on undermining these countries' cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The opponents of the cause of peace and security in Europe should bear in mind that however much the leaders of the United States try to undermine the unity of these countries and estrange them one from the other, it is a futile undertaking.

Arrival in Hungary

LD152022 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 15 Dec 85

[Text] Budapest, December 15 TASS--Upon completion of his visit to Romania U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has come for an official visit here today at the invitation of Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic Peter Varkonyi.

'Unrealistic' View of Facts

PM161809 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 85 First Edition p 5

[V. Bolshakov "Rejoinder": "What Is He Driving At?"]

[Text] In West Berlin the other day U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz delivered a report which immediately gave off a cold war odor.

Who was he trying to impress by defending what he knew to be unjust positions, not even trying to make his pronouncement match what is currently known as the "spirit of Geneva"? Anyone who is acquainted with the main-springs of U.S. policy will easily understand why he chose West Berlin as his platform: It has always been favored by the advocates of confrontation

in the United States who now, after Geneva, are demanding "continuing loyalty to the position-of-strength policy" and "no concessions to the Russians" on anything, who dream of reviving the long-discredited Dulles policy of "liberating Eastern Europe from communism."

With one eye on the most reactionary imperialist circles in the United States, Shultz gave a public discourse in West Berlin on how he sees the problems of European security, the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, and the talks on reducing nuclear weapons. Frankly, the secretary of state's approach to these problems is not reassuring.

For example, he puts forward the old idea of revising the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which revanchists of all shades have long been trying to undermine. At the same time, he also tries to revise the Final Act signed by the U.S. President in Helsinki in 1975. According to the secretary of state, the United States, you see, "does not agree to the inclusion of Eastern Europe, including the GDR and East Berlin, in the Soviet sphere of influence." Let us leave the "sphere of influence" terminology on Mr Shultz's conscience. But we must not overlook the fact that the secretary of state's pronouncements are a gross infringement of the sovereign right of the East European peoples who have freely chosen the path of socialism. Note that the secretary of state made other slanderous attacks on socialist countries whose peoples, according to Shultz, are merely dreaming of becoming part of "Western democracy" as soon as possible--of what is in fact a "democracy" of police nightsticks, persecution of dissidents, and mass unemployment. Indeed, the "baggage" Shultz has brought with him on his tour of several socialist countries, as displayed in West Berlin, is highly symptomatic.

His treatment of the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting was clearly unrealistic as well. While admitting that it was "worthwhile for both sides," he had no qualms about turning the key issue upside down. Namely, the question of preventing the militarization of space. To listen to Shultz, you might think that the USSR is no longer insisting on a ban on space strike weapons and, because the President displayed "firmness" on the "star wars" question, the "Russians accept the principle of radical reductions in offensive forces."

Yes, the USSR does favor radical reductions; it is proposing that the arsenal of Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons capable of reaching one another's territories be halved, but only on the condition that there is a total ban on space weapons. Only on that condition!

Shultz' speech contains the following description of the Geneva summit: "It was born under the sign of realism and developed into a mature exchange of views and ideas." Out of fairness, let us say that Shultz himself made a definite contribution to this. Which makes his report in West Berlin, which can only be described as immature and lacking in realism, sound even more discordant.

'Extinguishing' Summit Hopes

LD161733 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 16 Dec 85

["Mr Shultz' Overdoings (perederzhki)"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TASS)--TASS observer Aleksey Shestakov writes: London, Brussels, and Bonn; then, West Berlin; afterwards, Bucharest, Budapest, and Belgrade. That is the route of G. Shultz' trip along the European Continent. Commenting on it, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote: The U.S. secretary of state's trip is taking place almost a month after the Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva which roused hopes for a relaxation of international tension and widening trade and contacts.

Unfortunately, one has to admit that the chief of the U.S. foreign policy department is reacting to these justified hopes in a very unusual manner. Having hardly touched European soil, he began to extinguish them, because the main purpose of the secretary of state's voyage turned out to be unrestricted advertising of the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative" which, as is known, was precisely and ominously called "star wars" and is the major obstacle on the way to a radical reduction of nuclear weapons. At the same time, according to the same NEW YORK TIMES, the secretary of state warned that these expectations should not push the United States toward doubtful agreements." [no opening quotation marks as received]

Importunate publicity always suffers through exaggerations and misrepresentations. G. Shultz did not avoid this in the course of his press conferences: He barely uttered a word without there being some misrepresentation. "The importance and responsibility of the research program (read "star wars") is recognized everywhere," he asserted in Brussels "The importance of the fact that the United States has this program causes no conflict at all. In this sense we have obtained support on the part of our allies."

Is it really total support without any conflict? Yes, the British Government has been talked into it, and 10 days ago it signed the so-called "Memorandum on Mutual Understanding." Yes, FRG Chancellor Kohl has promised that the Bonn cabinet will make a decision on the participation of the FRG in the implementation of SDI on the day that G. Shultz returns home--18 December. But, French President F. Mitterrand, in an interview with the television company TF-1, once again confirmed his country's refusal to join the U.S. plans for the militarization of space, while Canada, Greece, Denmark, and a number of other U.S. allies also adhere to similar positions in relation to SDI.

The U.S. secretary of state's interpretation of the preparations, course, and results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting was full of misrepresentations and distortions. Essentially, he had failed to check his speeches against what had been said in Geneva. In accordance with the theory with which Washington propaganda has armed itself, G. Shultz tried to present the matter as if the Geneva meeting had taken place thanks only to the patience

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and persistence of the United States. At one of his press conferences he stated directly that his country was in favor of a peaceful political solution to problems by means of talks, but he believed, from his own experience, that strength was the way to peace. As if there had not been the numerous peace initiatives by the USSR which laid the path toward the creation of a favorable climate in Geneva; as if the basic stipulation of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement did not sound out clearly and unambiguously: The USSR and the United States will not strive for the attainment of military superiority....

But even that did not exhaust the propaganda arsenal with which G. Shultz arrived in Europe. During his visit to West Berlin he made statements which could have been made at the time when this city was considered the "front city."

They included words like "pressure" and threat on the side of the USSR, "the suppression by it of freedom in Eastern Europe." In a word, everything which allowed THE WASHINGTON POST to arrive at the conclusion that "the stern statements of Shultz were made in tones reminding one of the 'cold war'...." Having ignored the status of West Berlin, which was defined quite clearly by the known quadripartite agreement, the U.S. secretary of state staged one more demonstration in this city of Washington's policy "from the position of strength" and of unrestricted anti-Soviet rhetoric.

Having begun in West Berlin with statements on the "unnatural and inhuman split of Europe," G. Shultz continued them in the course of his trip. They were so importunate that at the press conference in Bucharest correspondents asked whether one should understand them as the nonrecognition by the United States of the existing borders in Europe and of their inviolability. G. Shultz replied that his statements do not contain any call for changing the existing borders and that he had in mind the "split of European nations." But is it not the United States which, having in fact cut economic, scientific, and cultural links with the USSR and a number of other socialist states, is trying and tried in the past to force by any means their West European partners into taking the same measures?

In this connection many political observers think these sort of statements by a prominent figure in the U.S. Administration is far from being in tune with the positive results of Geneva, with the possibilities of normalizing the international situation as a whole and the creation of a climate of trust in Europe which, in particular, opened up after the summit. Who are then those for whom Mr Shultz is trying so hard? Whose interests is he defending?

#### 'Couched' in Cold War Tones

LD152130 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 15 Dec 85

["Contrary to Hopes"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, December 15 TASS--TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik writes:



Commenting on George Shultz's tour of a number of European countries, the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES has noted that the U.S. secretary of state has undertaken his tour nearly a month after the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva which both in West European and East European states gave rise to hopes for relaxation of international tension, for expansion of trade and contacts.

Unfortunately, one has to note, however, that these hopes proved to be alien to the U.S. secretary of state. In London, Brussels and Bonn George Shultz devoted much of his time to building up the American SDI programme which is known to be the main obstacle to a radical reduction of nuclear weapons, and consequently, to recovery of the international climate, to the return to detente. Then, accompanied by the FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the U.S. secretary of state visited West Berlin on the eve of his trip to a number of East European countries, and used his stay in that city exclusively to emphasize what disunites, but not what unites Western and Eastern Europe.

Resorting to outright anti-Soviet and anti-communist rhetorics, in the course of his West Berlin press conference he exerted quite an effort to call in question possibilities of peaceful coexistence in the European Continent and tried to lay the blame for that on countries of the socialist community.

Some estimations of the Geneva meeting which were made by the U.S. secretary of state are also very far from political realities of the present. Interpreting, Washington style, the results of the summit dialogue, George Shultz was trying to present things in a way as if everything positive which was attained in Geneva is the result of the American policy, primarily the policy from the position of strength. If one is to listen to the secretary of state he might get the impression that the Soviet Union went to the Geneva negotiations all but exclusively under Washington's pressure, as a result of the "firmness of the White House" which was displayed in the course of deployment of American cruise missiles in Western Europe.

And meanwhile it is generally known that the way to establishment of the favourable climate at the Geneva meeting was laid exactly by the Soviet Union which held that the dangerous course of events in the world can and must be changed by the strength of argument, by the strength of example, by the strength of common sense, but not by power methods, not by launching a new twist in the arms spiral.

Last summer the Soviet Union unilaterally suspended all nuclear explosions, expressing the readiness to immediately resume negotiations on complete termination of nuclear tests. Moscow also reaffirmed unilateral moratorium on anti-satellite weapons tests and made radical proposals on reduction of nuclear arsenals. The Soviet proposals to prevent the arms race from being spread to outer space were accompanied by proposals that the broadest international cooperation be launched in peaceful exploration and uses of outer space to the good of all peoples.



The persistence of George Shultz in upholding in West Berlin the American "star wars" programme, Washington's obvious intention behind that persistence to turn the SDI into a means of demonstrating U.S. "firmness", into a tool of pressure upon the Soviet Union, show that some people in Washington are not going to give up attempts, which have already proved to be an absolute failure, to talk with the USSR from the position of strength. Therefore it is difficult not to agree with the news analysts who, commenting on George Shultz's press conference, query: "Aren't pronouncements by the U.S. secretary of state contrary to one of the basic proposals of the joint Soviet-American statement which was signed in Geneva: The USSR and USA will not be striving to attain military superiority.... [TASS quotation marks, ellipses as received]

Many people in Western Europe, and the United States itself, express the opinion that George Shultz's statements in West Berlin, the tone of his pronouncements, are by no means in line with the positive results of the Geneva meeting, possibilities of normalisation of the international situation as a whole and creation of a climate of confidence in Europe which opened after the Soviet-American summit meeting. Shultz's tough pronouncements are couched in tones reminiscent of "cold war", John Goshko admits in THE WASHINGTON POST.

#### Hungarian, Romanian Visits

PM181104 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 85 First Edition p 5

[TASS reports under the general heading: "G. Shultz' Trip"]

[Excerpts] Budapest, 17 Dec--U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz has visited here. He was received by J. Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, and G. Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and had talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister P. Varkonyi.

MTI reports that during the meetings questions of the international situation were examined. Opinions were exchanged on ways and opportunities to exploit the favorable conditions that have emerged after the Geneva summit.

Bucharest, 17 Dec--U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, who is here on a visit, had talks with Romanian President N. Ceausescu and Romanian Foreign Minister I. Vaduva.

Speaking at a press conference, G. Shultz said that the point of his visit to Romania boils down to the following: He had come to Bucharest to "show respect for Romania's stance on many issues." The secretary of state replied in the affirmative to a question from one of the correspondents asking whether he approved and supported "Romania's independent policy." He went on to note that during the talks certain aspects of Romanian-U.S. relations and international problems were examined. G. Shultz said that views coincided on a number of questions, there were differences of opinion on other questions, and the solution of certain problems requires definite efforts. But, the secretary of state stated, we do not dramatize this

since we are striving to ensure that U.S.-Romanian relations are as good as possible.

#### Berlin Speech Decried

PM161653 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 85 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by V. Lapskiy under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Not in the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] Of the speech delivered recently in West Berlin by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz it may be said that it is not in the spirit of the times. True, the attacks against the Soviet Union lack the abuse we are used to hearing, but that is perhaps the speech's only "merit." The first impression it makes is that without a twinge of conscience it extols the U.S.' love of peace. Mankind should thank Washington for everything positive which has happened in the world recently, it claims.

But let's try to turn the truth the right way up, it's safer for it that way. Let's proceed from the premise that people's memory is not as short as it seems in Washington. The detente of the seventies, which culminated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, was, as is well known, disrupted by Washington. It decided to deploy lethal first-strike nuclear forces along the borders of the socialist countries in Europe and it also took a number of other measures undermining detente. In late 1983 the United States used its obstruction to wreck the important talks in Geneva. It recently announced its intention to move the arms race into space. And so on.

In his speech at the "Berlin Wall," the U.S. secretary of state presented the matter as though the United States had almost compelled the Soviet Union to agree to the Geneva summit meeting. That is not simply misleading. There is scarcely any need to say that no one can compel the Soviet Union to do anything. And the Soviet Union itself has no desire to compel Washington to do anything. The Geneva meeting was, if you like, an objective necessity. This necessity was generated by a clear understanding of the mortal nuclear threat looming over civilization. If we are speaking of who struggled more vigorously and honestly against this threat, then there is no doubt it was the Soviet Union. Last summer it unilaterally suspended all nuclear explosions, expressing the readiness to immediately resume talks on the total cessation of nuclear tests. Our country has confirmed its unilateral moratorium on the testing of antisatellite weapons and submitted radical proposals for reducing nuclear arsenals. These examples could be continued.

G. Shultz' West Berlin speech devotes a lot of space to opinions about SDI--the "Strategic Defense Initiative." The secretary of state calls it "a system designed to reduce the possibility of attack" and he says that it "threatens no one and with time could spare all countries from the threat of mutual destruction." G. Shultz' words contain nothing new in terms of thoughts or formulations. They serve as a kind of pacifier for the public. No, the "star wars" program does not carry lasting peace or confidence in

the future. It has already been stressed frequently that the United States wants to protect itself against a retaliatory nuclear strike and to threaten us and our allies from behind a "space umbrella."

The Soviet Union does not oppose the militarization of space through fear--we have warned that if necessary we will find a fitting response--but we understand very well that a new spiral of the arms race with unpredictable consequences could be about to start. If that happens the responsibility will rest entirely on Washington.

In connection with G. Shultz' latest utterances the question arises: Do they not contradict one of the fundamental propositions of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement in Geneva to the effect that the USSR and the United States will not seek to achieve military superiority? And although the secretary of state emphasizes that the United States is against this superiority, his statements about SDI say precisely the opposite.

The West Berlin speech, of course, does not bypass the question of the wall separating the GDR capital from West Berlin, that is, serving as a state border with all the conclusions to be drawn from this. Attacking the GDR, G. Shultz gives his own interpretation of the wall and essentially reduces it to the problem of freedom of movement. But no one has forgotten why it was erected. Was it not the United States and its allies which in the late fifties and early sixties turned West Berlin into a center of the ideological, political, and economic struggle against the GDR? Through the will of fate West Berlin has always reacted sensitively to the fluctuations of the political thermometer in Europe. G. Shultz' statements couched in the spirit of the "cold war" in no way help normalize the climate around this city.

The leader of the U.S. foreign policy department evidently does not feel the spirit of the times. The world is exhausted by confrontation, it needs trust, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. It expects actions in this direction and does not want a return to the past which, as we can see, is still generating nostalgia among some people in Washington.

#### Departure From Summit Stance

LD172237 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 85

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video talk by Genrikh Borovik]

[Text] As is known, Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, delivered a speech a few days ago in West Berlin, which he was visiting. Over to Genrikh Borovik:

Hello, comrades. It might seem that the journey from one city to another should have no effect upon the opinions of any given person, particularly if that journey is made quickly. But in Geneva on 19 and 20 November and in West Berlin 3 weeks later, Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, seems like two different people. I saw the secretary of state in Geneva during the

summit meeting. He was a sensible person who made a definite contribution to the meeting, being useful to both sides and for international relations as a whole. I did not see him in West Berlin, but I have read his speech and it seemed as if it was not Shultz speaking but, say, John Foster Dulles, the U.S. secretary of state 30 years ago, or Caspar Weinberger, the current defense secretary.

It is possible, of course, that Mr Shultz travels to different cities on different missions, as they say--to Geneva on behalf of one institution, to improve relations between our countries, and to West Berlin on behalf of another, to aggravate them. In the United States they say that every problem can be resolved in three ways: correctly, incorrectly, and the way the army does it. This time Shultz seems to be endeavoring to solve the world's problems the third way, not as secretary of state, but as if he were a representative of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

Hence, as the saying goes, the painfully familiar phrases: dealing with the Russians only from a position of strength; revision of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements; liberation of Eastern Europe from communism and its return to the bosom of democracy and freedom; and so on and so forth.

I would rather not enter a firefight with the author of the report in West Berlin, but time, that merciless and mocking historian, itself provides essential factual information. For example, Mr Shultz speaks of the United States as a defender of human rights, while at this very moment the world is learning of a new outburst of racism and antisemitism in the United States. Mr Shultz talks of the United States as a champion of political solutions to regional problems, while at this precise moment the world is learning that off the California coast secret U.S. naval maneuvers have just been held to practice options for military attacks on Nicaragua, in addition to those attacks which have been delivered for 5 years with the aid of mercenaries.

Mr Shultz attempts to assure the U.S. allies on the "star wars" program; that this program is merely a defensive shield. At the same time the French president is stressing yet again that he refuses to participate in the implementation of a military space program which will lead only to an intensification of military tension and place France in the subordinate position of a subcontractor.

We know what specialists the United States has in reinterpreting various treaties, endeavoring to find in them a meaning opposite to that which they were invested with on signing, but usually a certain interval of time is required for this somewhat unseemly step. In this case, less than a month had passed before the United States began trying to reinterpret Geneva. The Shultz who was in Geneva knows full well that the Soviet Union is prepared for a radical cutback in nuclear armaments given only a ban on space weapons. But the Shultz in West Berlin makes so bold as to explain to people that the Soviet Union is, allegedly, no longer insisting on a ban on space-based strike weapons.



That is to say, the Shultz in West Berlin opposes the Shultz who took an active part in drafting important documents and agreements in Geneva.

There are certain things which may be combined. One may combine the functions of, say, ploughman and baker or of horticulturalist and forester. But it is not possible to participate in the organization of firefighting work in one town and deliver lectures on how to sabotage firemen's hoses in another. After all, everybody can see that if something of value has been accomplished in Geneva it is in the interests of the peoples of the world to have that thing developed, (?not negated).

People want a new meeting between the two leaders. They hope that they will come to it with definite deeds. To this end it is necessary to select one job and one path, the one outlined in Geneva.

#### Policy Briefings for Thatcher

LD171549 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] London, December 17 TASS--According to reports from well-informed sources, during his recent visit to London, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz conveyed to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher the gratitude of the President of the United States Reagan for Britain's joining the so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative". Both sides were also coordinating the further steps to impose the program of "star wars" on other West European countries.

According to reports from the same sources, the United States intends to continue popularizing its militaristic program as a "guaranteed way of lessening the threat posed by SS-20 and other missiles targeted on Western Europe." Shultz thus tried to mislead the public opinion of Western Europe about the SDI program which will allegedly "protect" not only the United States but also its West European allies. In reality the program of "star wars" envisages the creation of a space shield from under which Washington hopes to be able to deal a first strike.

It is also reported that during the talks with Margaret Thatcher the U.S. secretary of state tried to justify the United States' right to interfere in internal affairs of those countries whom the United States regards to be in the zone of regional conflicts. These pronouncements by Shultz are assessed here as proof of the fact that the United States intends to widen the scopes of intervention against Nicaragua, to increase aid to Afghan bandit units and Angolan rebels. The sides also discussed NATO's intention to seek to disunite countries of the socialist community by applying a "differentiated approach" to them.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR ENVOY CALLS FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT OF DISARMAMENT

LD282145 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Text] Vienna, November 28 TASS—The meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Vienna opened a dialogue between the Soviet and U.S. leaders and provided an opportunity for a direct discussion at the summit level of bilateral relations and international problems, Oleg Khlestov, the permanent representative of the USSR to international organizations in Vienna, said at a press conference here today. He summarized the essence of the accords reached at the summit.

Though a number of questions remained unresolved, the Soviet spokesman said, the Geneva meeting provided certain preconditions for the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in a more auspicious direction and for the improvement of the international climate as a whole. That is why it is necessary to exploit the opportunities now available to seek a change for the better in relations between the USSR and the USA.

Here in Vienna, the venue of the U.N. "third" centre and other international organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, Oleg Khlestov said, possibilities are also available for pursuing the results of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva and for looking for and realizing in practice opportunities for improving the overall climate of international relations.

In the context of the activities of the Vienna-based organizations, it is important that agreement was reached on broader cooperation in strengthening the regime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and in increasing support for IAEA's activities in that field, and also on expanding cooperation with a view to building an international Tokamak thermonuclear reactor.

Important work has been carried out on the project by specialists from the USSR, the USA, Western Europe and Japan for a number of years now to tap a virtually inexhaustible source of energy for all the countries of the world, big and small, developed and developing alike.

Recognition of the organic relationship of disarmament and the solution of economic problems in developing countries, between reductions in spending on the development and production of armaments and the reorientation of

these resources to give financial aid to developing countries are among the tasks the accomplishment of which can also be facilitated by the Vienna-based United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). Other international organizations headquartered in Vienna can and must make energetic efforts to prevent the dangerous escalation of the arms race and to strengthen world peace and security, the Soviet spokesman stressed.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

SOVIET WEEKLY INTERVIEWS GENERAL MAKSIMOV ON PARITY

PM251439 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 46, 11-17 Nov 85 (signed to press 13 Nov 85) p 6

[Interview with Hero of the Soviet Union Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, USSR deputy minister of defense, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and commander in chief of Strategic Rocket Forces, by Vladislav Monakhov: "Both Shield and Sword"]

[Excerpt] [Monakhov] Yuriy Pavlovich, at the present holiday parade we saw the might of our army--the motherland's shield and sword. Over 100 parades have already passed through Red Square. Its flagstones remember the first Soviet tank, the first self-propelled gun...But when did the first missile equipment pass through it?

[Maksimov] Subunits with missile equipment first took part in the military parade 7 November 1957, when the 40th anniversary of Great October was celebrated.

We were obliged to create missile weapons. We recall the forties when U.S. President Truman began to brandish the atomic big stick and when the "hawks" developed the doctrine of "massive nuclear retaliation." But the imperialists did not succeed in their one-sided game. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government, under the very harsh conditions of eliminating the consequences of the war and restoring the national economy, were compelled very rapidly to rebuild the defense industry and to launch scientific research work in the field of missile building and the production of atomic ammunition. The first Soviet satellite with its renowned "beep-beep" not only announced to the whole world that the space era was open but also sounded as a warning to the excessively hotheaded that a launch vehicle had been created in the Soviet Union capable of delivering a nuclear charge to any part of the world! Henceforth a potential aggressor could no longer feel invulnerable and beyond punishment.

In embarking on the creation of nuclear missile weapons, our country did not slacken the struggle for their elimination and the ending of the arms race.

[Monakhov] All the same, we had to strengthen the missile shield?

[Maksimov] Unfortunately, yes. In the brief period of their existence our troops have grown and matured, and have become a terrible force capable, together with the other branches of the USSR Armed Forces, of curbing any aggressor. Whereas the first units were armed with ground-launched missile complexes, today they have automated missile complexes possessing a high degree of readiness for combat use and high reliability. These improved weapons have been created thanks to our people's tireless labor and the scientific feat of Soviet scientists like I.V. Kurchatov, S.P. Korolev, N.I. Tikhomirov, F.P. Glushko, M.V. Keldysh, N.A. Pilyugin, M.K. Yangel, and many others.

[Monakhov] And what measures is our country taking today to ensure that military-strategic equilibrium is preserved in the world?

[Maksimov] The recently published draft new edition of the CPSU Program stresses that the establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO was socialism's historic achievement.

Today the essence of the policy of ruling circles in the United States and their allies is becoming increasingly clear: To attempt to take social revanche on the basis of the attainment of military-strategic superiority over socialism. The West is intensively fanning the slanderous inventions about the imaginary superiority of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries militarily. A vivid illustration of this is the recent interviews granted by U.S. President R. Reagan to a group of Soviet journalists, in which it was stated once again that the Soviet arsenal is superior to the American arsenal. Why are these "canards" released? In order to distract the attention of the world public from the unrestrained arms race pursued by Washington and its practical steps toward the militarization of space and the preparations for so-called "star wars." It is a question of creating qualitatively new systems which would enable the United States to inflict a first disabling strike on the USSR and its allies with impunity.

I repeat: The Soviet Union will respond to any challenge from imperialism with resolute countermeasures. And these are by no means empty words. Thus we responded to the siting of U.S. medium-range Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe by placing increased-range operational-tactical missiles on operational readiness on GDR and CSSR territory. At the same time additional means were dispersed over the world oceans in order to subject U.S. territory to a threat equivalent to that posed for us and our allies by the new U.S. missiles sited in Western Europe.

We do not seek strategic superiority. The Soviet Union is going to the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva open-mindedly, in the firm desire to reach agreement on measures to end the threat of nuclear missile war on the basis of genuine equality and equal security for the sides.

[Monakhov] Nuclear missile weapons incorporate the highest achievements of modern scientific and technical progress. The time taken to bring these

weapons into readiness for combat use has been reduced to minutes, to seconds. What qualities are required of the missile men?

[Maksimov] They say: In our age, the missile is strong, but man conquers. Operational readiness requires of every missile man the highest level of vigilance, concentration, discipline, technical training, and the ability to act resolutely and purposefully under extreme physical, moral, and psychological stress.

A missile complex is a collective weapon. The feeling of comradeship, of total confidence in your comrade--I cannot imagine a missile man without that. You remember Gogol's "Taras Bulba": "No bond is more sacred than comradeship!" That could have been said about our combat comradeship. Ideological commitment, love for the motherland, Soviet patriotism--that is what raised people to the heights of military skill and leads to great feats.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

MOSCOW TV: SOVIET ACADEMICIANS ASSESS GENEVA TALKS

LD040906 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 85

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent Komarova with Academicians Fedoseyev and Primakov]

[Text] A general assembly of the scientific council for the study of problems of peace and disarmament was held at the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium today. Our correspondent talked to scientists participating in the meeting:

[Komarova] Please tell us how scientists assess today the talks that took place in Geneva.

[Academician Fedoseyev, vice president of the Academy of Sciences] The provisions contained in the final document note that the two sides would take every measure in order not to permit any war between the Soviet Union and the United States, either a nuclear or a conventional one, and that the two sides would not aspire to military superiority--these are of great significance. These understandings, of course, must be strengthened in practice--by deeds.

[Academician Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations] Another factor I would like to dwell on is the new philosophical approach, or the new emphasis in our philosophy on problems of security, problems of international relations. This is what I mean: First, we are completely ruling out the erroneous impression that there is some kind of game under way, with the result of being a so-called draw, as people said in the United States. What they were saying was that what is not advantageous to us is advantageous to the Soviet Union; what is advantageous to the Soviet Union is not to our advantage. At the present stage of the arms race such an approach produces the most negative consequences. It is being completely ruled out. And Comrade Gorbachev even said that if the security of the United States is violated, that this is not to our advantage as well. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev analyzed and illustrated the system of international relations as a system of interests that frequently contradict each other, but added it is necessary to seek areas where these interests converge, and this was what was done in Geneva.

To speak about Geneva in general, naturally there can be no euphoria here, it seems to me, but, a great deal was done.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

MOSCOW: U.S. STILL 'TEMPTED' BY MILITARY SUPERIORITY

LD291759 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 29 Nov 85

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] The report the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, made to a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet about the results of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva and the international situation is being analyzed in many countries. It is specially noted in the response that is coming in, writes our commentator Yuriy Solton, that since the Geneva meeting too the Soviet Union doesn't intend to slow down the pace and to relax its determination in pressing for a stop to the arms race and for an improvement of the international situation.

Many analysts believe this is a display of the responsible Soviet approach to the problems of promoting world security. The objective course of events over the past few decades has confronted humanity with a choice between survival and the menace of nuclear annihilation. Because of the continuing arms race, first of all in nuclear arms, there is a growing level of unpredictability of events. Matters will get still worse if arms appear in outer space, that would inevitably lead to the disappearance of the very notion of strategic stability. A situation would prevail when important decisions, irreversible in their consequences, would be taken by electronic machines without the participation of man. Even a simple error, a fault in computer systems, could bring about a general catastrophe. In short, the world has reached a line when a fresh look has to be taken at things, when political boldness is needed to give up former notions and to realize the entire danger of the policy of force, of the drive for military superiority.

It is on this matter that all states, regardless of their size and internal system, can and must have their say. Of course, each one of them has its own path of development, its own friends and allies. The choice of these is a sovereign right but the situation insistently requires that national interests should be brought in line with reaching an objective that affects all the nations without exception, and that is averting nuclear war. Because of the huge economic and military potentials of the USSR and the United States special responsibility lies with these two countries. It is exactly responsibility, not a privilege. The Soviet Union regards its role in international affairs in precisely this way. Its latest initiatives are

too keynoted by concern for stronger worldwide security. [sentence as received] People would certainly give a sigh of relief if the United States accepted the Soviet proposal for a total ban on attack space systems, for reducing by half the corresponding nuclear arms of the two countries and if the United States joins the unilateral Soviet moratorium on any nuclear explosions.

However, everything seems to indicate that the United States Administration is still tempted to try to get military supremacy over the USSR via space. The unwillingness of the United States leadership to give up the Star Wars program made it impossible in Geneva to reach concrete accords on real disarmament. Unless this obstacle has been removed it is impossible to have progress in nuclear disarmament. This is not only the Soviet view, the leaders and ordinary people of many other countries think likewise; in particular they will judge about the approach of the United States to the problem of non-militarization of outer space by how the American leaders understand their responsibility for the promotion of world security.

Today there is a real chance to sharply reduce the threat of nuclear war and then to fully eliminate such a likelihood. To miss the chance would be a fatal error.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### SOVIET, U.S. SCHOLARS MEET, DISCUSS WORLD EVENTS

#### Session Opens

LD040206 Moscow TASS in English 0020 GMT 4 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, December 3 TASS--Topical problems of international relations, economy and history are being discussed now by prominent Soviet and American scholars at the sixth session of the Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the American Council of Learned Societies for Liaison in the Field of Social Sciences. A three-day meeting has opened in Moscow today.

The recent meeting of the Soviet and American leaders in Geneva creates good conditions for intensifying contacts between Soviet and American scientists, Academician Georgiy Arbatov, head of the Soviet delegation, pointed out at the meeting. Academician Arbatov, who is director of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, stressed that it is necessary to use these new opportunities for improving relations between the two countries.

Robert Lumiansky, head of the American delegation, co-chairman of the commission, said that the American scholars will also strive to maintain the high level of mutual understanding, which is characteristic of the work of the Soviet-American commission. The current session, which coincides with the tenth anniversary of the commission, is a jubilee one. Its participants are to sum up the results of the work done and draft a programme for cooperation for 1986-1987.

#### Arbatov Addresses Meeting

LD032135 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 3 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, December 3 TASS--The very fact of the meeting in Geneva of the leaders of the two biggest powers in common with the agreements reached at it on further talks is evidence of certain successes on the way to international detente, Academician Georgiy Arbatov said. He was addressing today the general assembly of the research council for the study of the problems of peace and disarmament.

Arbatov was among the experts who attended the Geneva talks between Gorbachev and Reagan. According to the prominent scholar, it was the first



time that a situation emerged, in which the Soviet peace policy met with such an international response and approval. Arbatov recalled, in particular, the following episode: The father of one of his foreign colleagues, a big businessman, gave a call to his son from London and asked with much astonishment: What is happening in Geneva? The whole of Britain has been sitting at their television set for an hour and a half and listening to the Soviet leader with interest. But Britons are prepared to spend only a few minutes usually to listen to the speeches by their political figures.

Academician Arbatov believes that the positive balance of the Geneva talks has been ensured in a large measure due to the preparations, which started already from the time when the heads of the two states agreed to meet. Public opinion has been greatly impressed, in particular, by the Soviet peace initiative including the moratorium on nuclear tests. Yet, he stressed, the Soviet Union, certainly, cannot put a stop to the arms race by acting alone. The academician explained: It is unrealistic to believe that Reagan will change his views, and the Soviet side did not hope for that when agreeing to a meeting. It is important that by force of objective circumstances and on the Soviet Union's initiatives the international situation has changed in favor of peace and a blow has been struck to the concept of anti-communism, which has its supporters among the imperialist circles.

The meeting was addressed by Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, who also shared his impressions of the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. He explained in detail the Soviet Union's policy on the arms control policy and stressed that the Soviet Union will not agree to arms control, if the arms race continues. Certainly, a compromise decision can be reached on that issue, if both sides reach agreement to ban the production of nuclear and all other types of mass destruction weapons.

The participants in the meeting declared their determination to contribute towards the efforts that the positive change reached at Geneva should be translated into practical actions to prevent nuclear war and develop equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

GROMYKO, KUZNETSOV MEET FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD131509 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 85

[Text] Today [13 December], Comrade Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received Louis Mermaz, chairman of the French National Assembly in the Kremlin.

During the conversation there was discussion on topical international problems and also the prospects for the development of bilateral Soviet-French relations, including relations at the parliamentary level. In reviewing the actual current world situation, Comrade Gromyko stressed, it is necessary to understand clearly that mankind has reached a point at which an uncontrollable process could begin which is linked with the use of the latest achievements of science and technology for military aims.

The militarization of space which is being discussed so much at the present, threatens to undermine the already unstable strategic order. The main aim today is to take a new look in assessing the situation which has arisen, to cease the escalation of armaments and to build relations between states in such a way as to move via a policy of detente to creating a stable and reliable structure of international security.

Comrade Gromyko noted in particular that the resumption of the active dialogue between East and West as a result of the recent summit meetings in Paris and Geneva opens up opportunities for a drawing together of positions on the main problem of the present day--the cessation of the arms race on earth and preventing the arms race in space.

Speaking of the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Comrade Gromyko stressed the usefulness of the direct and frank exchange of opinions which had taken place there. All conditions exist for the results of that meeting to have a beneficial effect on changes in the political and psychological climate in the world, to improve the international situation and reduce the nuclear threat.

At the same time, one must take note of the fact that the U.S. Administration does not yet seem ready to take fundamental decisions, first of all in the

matter of eliminating the nuclear threat, on the basis of not permitting the arms race to move into space. The participants in the conversation expressed satisfaction with the proximity of the approaches of the USSR and France to the fact that it was essential to place a barrier in the way of an arms race in space, to eliminate military competition here and to keep space for peaceful activity for the good of all states.

The Soviet side expressed the hope that the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva and on the international situation would be regarded positively by the French National Assembly and Senate. The Soviet side expressed readiness to expand cooperation with France in resolving key international problems, continuing the European process, and developing cooperation between East and West.

The participants in the conversation stressed the adherence of the two sides to the further development of bilateral cooperation in all spheres, a new stimulus to which was given by the recent Soviet-French summit meeting in Paris. An important element in the relations between the USSR and France are interparliamentary links.

Comrade Gromyko stressed that the USSR was aiming toward peaceful onward progress; this was shown by the widespread nationwide preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress.

Taking part in the conversation was Comrade Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; other officials and also Jean-Bernard Raimond, French ambassador in the USSR.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

TASS CITES SWEDISH COMMUNIST PARTY CHAIRMAN ON SUMMIT

LD161740 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 16 Dec 85

[Text] Stockholm, December 16 TASS--Despite serious differences between the great powers on a number of major problems connected with the discontinuation of the arms race, the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva has opened up a possibility of a constructive search for ways to mutual understanding and the solution of basic problems of today, Rolf Hagel, chairman of the board of the Worker's Party--Communists of Sweden, has stated in an interview with the newspaper "NORRSKENSFLAMMAN".

The provision of the joint Soviet-American statement on the results of the meeting to the effect that a nuclear war should never be started and that there can be no winners in it, as well as the recognition by both sides of the importance of the prevention of any war between the USSR and the U.S., be it a nuclear or conventional one, are of principled importance, R. Hagel stressed. The agreements reached in Geneva on the continuation of meetings between the Soviet and American leaders, on the activization of a dialogue on various levels and on speeding up the work of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons with the aim to prevent the arms race in space and to stop it on earth will promote the success in the consolidation of peace and the removal of the threat of a nuclear war.

Rolf Hagel expressed high appreciation of the Soviet peace initiatives put forward in the past several years. The USSR moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe, the unilateral decision to stop any nuclear explosions and the proposal on freezing strategic offensive armaments are of great importance. The proposals put forward by the Soviet Union create for it a firm basis on the Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

Rolf Hagel also pointed out the importance of the proposal put forward by the USSR on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. This constructive idea is broadly supported by the majority of the population of northern countries, he stressed.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

TASS: ROMANIA, CSSR COMMUNIQUE SUPPORTS SUMMIT STANCE

LD121925 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 12 Dec 85

[Text] Bucharest, December 12 TASS--Romania and Czechoslovakia fully support the constructive stand of the USSR at the Soviet-American summit in Geneva, the stand which was in accord with the spirit of the statement adopted by the Sofia meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, a communique released here today on the results of the working visit of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, says. The sides stress that the Geneva meeting is the beginning of a dialogue aimed at achieving change for the better in international relations.

Romania and Czechoslovakia, the communique says, believe that the very fact of the Geneva meeting and the adoption of a joint statement constituted an important event in the present-day especially dangerous international situation. They welcome the fact that the USSR and the USA reached accord on the inadmissibility of nuclear war, in which there can be no winner, and agreed that neither side should seek military superiority. They also welcome incipient prospects for the continuation of talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak called for an early achievement of mutually acceptable accords on ending the arms race on earth, on preventing its spread into space, on disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and on strengthening peace and international security. The leaders of the two countries also called for suspending for the entire duration of the talks the production, deployment and tests of nuclear weapons, or any actions aimed at the militarization of space, and also for freezing and reducing military spending. Support was voiced for the initiatives aimed at establishing nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and in Nordic Europe, a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, and also for the idea to establish a chemical weapons-free area in central Europe.

The sides believe, the document says furthermore, that it is necessary to invigorate the activities of different international agencies and conferences concerned with questions of disarmament, cooperation and European and world peace and security, and to do everything possible for the completion with the best possible results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and

Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and for progress at the Vienna talks and at the Geneva disarmament conference.

It was stressed in the course of the talks that to ensure European and world peace, it is especially necessary to respect territorial and political realities in Europe and to put an end to all revanchist tendencies aimed at a revision of borders between European states.

The sides called for the further strengthening of the unity of the international communist and working class movement, for broader relations with communist, workers and social democratic parties and national liberation movements with a view to the mobilization of the broadest socio-political forces and of the mass of the population to struggle for disarmament, peace, national independence, cooperation and social progress. The solidarity of the Romanian and Czechoslovak communist parties and of Romania and Czechoslovakia with the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for social and national liberation, for stronger independence and against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism was reiterated.

In the course of the visit Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak signed a program for the development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries to the year 2000 and reiterated the desire of both sides vigorously to expand multilateral economic, scientific and technological cooperation in the spirit of the resolutions passed by the CMEA member countries' summit.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

BRIEFS

TASS: CANADIAN CP CONDEMNS U.S.—Ottawa, November 13 TASS—U.S. imperialism is doing everything possible to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, now in space, William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, said. Addressing a rally in Toronto, he noted that the U.S. space plans were bound to fail. While the U.S. President is holding forth on "star wars," the Soviet Union is offering a "star peace," so that all the peoples should make use of the results of space research. William Kashtan expressed the confidence that the forces of socialism jointly with all the other progressive and peace-loving forces of the world would block the intrigues of imperialism and secure a just and lasting peace on earth. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 13 Nov 85 LD] /6091

TASS CITES MCNAMARA ON SUMMIT—Washington, December 5 TASS—Former U.S. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara has positively assessed the results of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva, calling it a great shift. For the first time in the past 25 years, he said, the two sides talked about a 50 per cent reduction in their nuclear armaments. Talking on this subject is an important step forward. In the opinion of Robert McNamara, an arms reduction by 50 per cent would be very important for averting the risk of a first strike. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 5 Dec 85 LD] /6091

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SALT/START ISSUES

TASS: U.S. ACDA JUSTIFIES ARMS TREATY VIOLATIONS

LD281937 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 28 Nov 85

["The Pentagon's Affiliate Attacks Treaties" — TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, November 28 TASS.-- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The official functions of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which were formulated when it was being founded are to supply the U.S. Congress with estimates of the influence of the Pentagon-suggested military programmes on the course of talks on limiting and reducing arms and to work out conclusions as to whether new U.S. weapon systems conform to the already reached international agreements. As was contemplated by the founders of the agency, it was to serve as a counter-balance to the Pentagon which, as a rule, insists on an unrestrained augmentation of U.S. military expenditures.

No one in the United States has even recalled this function of the agency over the past five years. The agency headed by its director Kenneth Adelman is more preoccupied with compiling falsehoods for the Congress and the press, the falsehoods which are aimed at "substantiating" the nuclear arms build-up by the United States, at justifying in the eyes of the public the U.S. side's renunciation of still effective accords and at camouflaging the U.S. violations of international agreements.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has turned into a propaganda affiliate of the Pentagon. The agency's director Kenneth Adelman only plays up to the Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger who is notorious as an inveterate opponent of any agreements with the USSR.

It is precisely for the purpose of justifying Washington's course towards building up U.S. weapons of mass destruction that Adelman resorts to mendacious insinuations that the Soviet Union does not allegedly fulfill its treaty obligations. At a briefing for foreign journalists, he came forward with a statement that the United States ostensibly continues to implement the provisions of the SALT-2 treaty, which remains unratified through the fault of Washington, and that the Soviet Union allegedly violates the treaty provisions.

Washington does not conceal that a new ICBM, the Midgetman, is being created in the United States. Considering that the tests of a new type of the MX strategic missile are being completed in the United States, the Midgetman will be the second type of ICBM. Meanwhile the creation by any of the sides of two new ICBMs is forbidden by

the SALT-2 treaty. In order to justify this glaring violation of the treaty obligations by the United States, Adelman states that the USA will observe the provisions of the treaty until the Russians violate it.

In the style of the worst traditions of the Pentagon, he at once produces "evidence" that two new ICBMs are being developed in the USSR as well. In so doing he presents the modernised version of an old Soviet missile as the second "new type" of a Soviet ICBM. Adelman is not embarrassed by the fact that the USSR has presented concrete facts which convincingly show that the characteristics of modernised missile fully accord with the respective provisions of the SALT-2.

Over the period that has passed since the signing of the SALT-2 treaty, the USSR has done nothing to circumvent its provisions.

It strictly abides by the levels established by the SALT-2. The Soviet Union has dismantled about 250 strategic systems so that the established levels of strategic arms would not be exceeded. The USSR's other obligations under the treaty are likewise strictly observed: Sublevels for MIRVs and limitations on qualitative upgrading of strategic systems.

The Soviet side also strictly observes other provisions of the SALT-2.

The Soviet Union does not seek military superiority, and it has no stimuli to renounce the accords. The Soviet Union's positive attitude to the SALT-2 treaty has never changed. On the other hand, since the beginning of the eighties, the United States has embarked upon the path of gradual crawling out of the treaty, on the path of violating the treaty provisions. The Pentagon chief does not conceal his attitude to the SALT-2, constantly referring to it as a pseudo-agreement on arms control, and advises the U.S. President to renounce it altogether.

During the briefing for journalists, Adelman did not limit himself to falsifying facts concerning the implementation by the United States of the treaty on the limitation of the strategic offensive arms. Touching upon the U.S. "star wars" plans, he expressed a fantastic supposition that Washington would manage to make the Soviet Union abandon its principled line towards preventing militarisation of outer space and would make it reconcile itself to the U.S. "Strategic Defence Initiative".

This won't work, Mr. Adelman!

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CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

TASS: GORBACHEV NOTES SIGNIFICANCE OF GENEVA CHEMICAL ARMS STATEMENT

LD271207 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 27 Nov 85

[Text] Moscow, November 27 TASS--Of principled significance is the joint statement by the leaders of the USSR and the USA for a general and complete prohibition and destruction of such brutal means of mass annihilation as chemical weapons, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said, addressing the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

The agreement between the leadership of the USSR and the USA to contribute jointly with the other states--participants in the Stockholm conference--to its speediest completion by the adoption of a document that would include concrete commitments on non-use of force and mutually acceptable measures of building up confidence also goes far beyond the framework of the Soviet-American relations. The fact that as a result of the meeting a number of useful agreements has been reached in many directions of the development of bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the USA can only be welcomed.

Special mention should be made of the significance of the agreement reached in Geneva on continuing political contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States, including summit level contacts.

Thus we have every right to say that the total balance of Geneva is positive.

I can say with satisfaction that this evaluation is shared by our allies--the fraternal socialist countries, a clear evidence of which is the [words indistinct] of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Prague, which was held right after the end of the Soviet-American summit talks.

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CSO: 5200/1205

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

MOSCOW ON 'MENDACIOUS' PENTAGON PAMPHLET ON SOVIET CHEMICAL WEAPONRY

LD012347 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Nov 85

[Commentary by correspondent in the United States Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] The Pentagon has prepared and published a pamphlet entitled "The Soviet Nuclear Weapons Threat" within the last few days. This thoroughly mendacious publication maintains that the USSR has allegedly drastically increased the manufacture of various types of chemical weapons over the last few years, while the United States has not taken any steps in that area. The authors of the pamphlet declare that the United States and its NATO allies are practically defenseless today in the face of the growing Soviet chemical threat. The U.S. mass media also immediately joined this well coordinated misinformation campaign.

American papers at once printed extensive quotations from the Pentagon publication as well as statements by experts, still from the Pentagon, who attempted to prove the authenticity of the facts and figures contained therein. Film sequences intended to convince the Americans that the USSR is actively preparing for chemical war appeared on the television screens time and again. It presents no particular difficulty to determine what for and why precisely now this successive, defamatory anti-Soviet campaign has unfolded. The reason is that the U.S. House of Representatives is to begin examining this week a White House request to assign the Pentagon more than \$160 million for the manufacture of nerve-paralyzing binary shells. According to the defense minister's assistant for chemical weapons, Thomas Welch, the Pentagon is hoping that it will find wide support for its plans in the House of Representatives. Another anti-Soviet fake has been fabricated precisely to ensure this support.

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## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### USSR'S TOLKUNOV SPEAKS ON ARMS ISSUES AT BONN CONFERENCE

PM171100 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 85 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Strengthen Mutual Understanding and Trust"]

[Text] Bonn, 13 Dec--A 2-day conference of representatives of the USSR and FRG public devoted to the prospects and problems of relations between East and West has begun work here. E. Bahr, chairman of the FRG Bundestag Sub-commission for Disarmament and Arms Control; K. Voigt, chairman of the SPD working group in the Bundestag for foreign policy issues; H. Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD faction in the Bundestag; and other prominent political and public figures in the country are participating in the conference, which has been organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which is close to the SPD, and also by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

A delegation of the Soviet public headed by L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, is participating in the work of the conference.

The participants in the conference highly praised the Soviet-U.S. Geneva summit meeting as a major political event in international life. The conference pointed out that the results of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan could have a positive influence on changing the political and psychological climate in contemporary international relations throughout the world, including in Europe, and on improving these relations and could also reduce the threat of a nuclear war breaking out.

"FRG Social Democrats," E. Bahr said in his speech, "support as corresponding to their position a fundamentally important result of the meeting, the accord reached in the joint statement that nuclear war must never be unleashed. They welcome the importance, stressed by the USSR and U.S. leaders, of preventing any war between the two countries and their commitment not to aspire to gain military superiority."

Speaking at the conference, the head of the Soviet public delegation noted that "the long-term significance of the Geneva meeting must be manifested primarily in concrete practical actions and depends on the willingness of

the United States to act on the basis of the joint statement adopted in Geneva." "Reaching concrete accords in Geneva on real disarmament and, first and foremost, on the central problem of nuclear and space weapons," he said, "was prevented by the reluctance of the U.S. leadership to give up the 'star wars' program." The Soviet public is firmly convinced that realization of this program, envisaging the creation [sozdaniye] of space-based strike weapons which could be used against missiles, satellites, and targets on earth, will lead to further acceleration of the arms race.

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CSO: 5200/1204

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

MOSCOW: U.S. FEARS ALLIES WILL FOLLOW NZ BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

LD142313 Moscow World Service in English 1610 GMT 13 Nov 85

[Text] Washington's adherence to the concept of a first nuclear strike gives rise to mounting concern among United States allies. This was reflected in New Zealand's striving to dissociate itself from America's nuclear strategy. More on this in a report filed from Jakarta by our correspondent Aleksandr Fedonin:

The decision of the Government of New Zealand to close the country's ports to foreign nuclear ships caused an angry response in Washington. For a year already U.S. officials have been engaged in a campaign of pressure and intimidation. They charged the Government of New Zealand with undermining the military group ANZUS. When these measures failed to have the desired effect on official circles and public opinion in New Zealand, Washington threatened to use economic sanctions against the obstinate partner. Yet, as the latest reports indicate, New Zealand's government still refuses to revise its position or waive national interest to please Washington. The firm stand of New Zealand irritates Washington also because it fears that its other allies might follow the example and ban visits to their ports by American ships with nuclear weapons on board.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS: UN FIRST COMMITTEE BACKS NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE CALL

LD211031 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Text] New York, November 21 TASS--The First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly supported the initiative of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and approved by an overwhelming majority of votes a draft resolution submitted by them and dealing with a nuclear arms freeze. A freeze on nuclear weapons, the document says, would build up trust among states, ease off international tensions and lessen the threat of nuclear war. The international community urged all nuclear weapon states to freeze their nuclear arms on a global scale starting from an agreed date and under appropriate control by way of a first step toward their reduction, the complete elimination of such arms being the ultimate aim. The document calls upon the United States and the U.S.S.R. to show an example for other countries and to be the first to freeze nuclear arms simultaneously on a bilateral basis.

The idea of a nuclear arms freeze is dealt with in two other drafts passed by the First Committee. The drafts were introduced by India and a group of nonaligned countries. The U.S. and some of its Western partners voted against the proposals.

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RELATED ISSUES

SOVIET JOURNAL ON CHANCES FOR REVIVAL OF DETENTE

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85  
(signed to press 15 Jul 85) pp 3-14

[Article by A. Lebedev: "The Imperatives of Helsinki"]

[Excerpts] The present year is rich in important political anniversaries. The main one is undoubtedly the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. May was the 30th anniversary of the formation of the Warsaw Pact, which has been extended by the unanimous decision of its participants. The 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the historic Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] will be commemorated on 1 August.

Anniversaries of other important events also have been and will be commemorated, but the above-mentioned ones are in the forefront precisely because between them is not a chance temporal coincidence but a profound organic connection. After all, the true purpose of any political anniversary is to comprehend it anew from the standpoints both of the present day and the future, comprehensively evaluate the significance of the given event and recognize once again the deep-lying essence of the lessons which have been and which are constantly being learned.

I

It is from this angle that we view such a major landmark in the history of international relations as the meeting in July-August 1975 of the top leaders of 33 European states and the United States and Canada. The Final Act which they signed was a genuine embodiment of the age-old cherished aspirations of the European peoples, and not only European. It is a question of a document which is truly unprecedented in the history of international relations in which the interests of all its participants are balanced. States belonging to opposite social systems and with different historical and national traditions agreed to build their relations on the basis of specifically determined rules. It was with good reason that the Final Act came to be called the "charter of peaceful coexistence" and the "code of detente".

The 10 fundamental principles of relations between states recorded in this document are essentially nothing other than the enshrinement in international law of the principles of the coexistence of states with different social systems which V.I. Lenin put forward in the very first days of October. However, at that time the class hatred and unconcealed hostility of the capitalist West prevented the weight of obligatory rules of interstate relations being imparted to these principles.

The conference in Helsinki was undoubtedly the fruit of the common efforts of states of East and West. And the Final Act would never have seen the light of day without the existence of good will on both sides and without an accommodating approach toward one another. At the same time, however, it is also an indisputable fact that the initiative for the convening of such a forum came from East Europe—it was advanced by the Warsaw Pact states.

The results of the All-European Conference and the entire set of Helsinki accords marked a victory for realism, prudence and common sense in international politics. The principles of relations between states enshrined in the Final Act undoubtedly make it possible to create a firm foundation of security on the European continent. In addition, they could serve as a model for other regions of the world also. Given strict, conscientious observance of the given principles by all states, of course.

For the first time in world politics an international document incorporated an entire set of rules of the behavior of the states which signed it. Specifically, it is a question of the following: sovereign equality, nonuse or the threat of force, inviolability of borders, states' territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic liberties, the equality and right of the peoples to dispose of their own fate, cooperation between states and conscientious fulfillment of obligations per international law. Besides this, the conferees drew up a document on confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament, which became an integral part of the Final Act.

In other words, the interests of all the conferees, irrespective of whether they were socialist or capitalist states, members of the Warsaw Pact or NATO or neutral and nonaligned, were considered to the optimum extent in Helsinki. And all sections of the Final Act, furthermore, are of equal value and force and should only be examined in close and inseparable interconnection, the emphasis not being put on this section or the other arbitrarily and individual formulas and provisions being taken out of the general context.

The Helsinki accords enshrined the political-territorial realities in Europe which had taken shape as a result both of WWII (they had been recorded in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements) and postwar development. This created the necessary foundation for extensive mutually profitable cooperation in the most diverse spheres--the economy, education, culture, power engineering and environmental conservation. The conference also opened the way for practical measures in supplementing political detente with military detente.

Turning to the postwar past helps us once again fittingly evaluate from the standpoints of today the scale and significance of the efforts expended on starting the engine of the all-European process and imparting the necessary speed to movement along the path of detente. It is also important for understanding why the motor of detente has begun to misfire.

A reservation has to be made at once here: No, the engine has not died, but is not operating at the speed and as smoothly as might be wished. The political forces hostile toward detente have not succeeded in blowing up the edifice thereof which was put up in the 1970's. Were there to be good will for this in the West, it would be possible by common efforts to remove the fractures and rifts which have come about and to embark on the erection of new stages of the edifice of European peace.

H. Schmidt once said that for peaceful coexistence military balance is not enough--detente is needed. We have to agree. And as a minimum there should be no playing with fire, breaking up the evolved balance, hoping to acquire military superiority and simultaneously trying to expunge the very concept of detente from the political lexicon and, what is most important, from people's minds and consciousness.

## II

To which forces was the all-European process so distasteful that hardly had the ink of the signatures of the Final Act dried than they were unleashing a concentrated offensive against it? Of course, primarily U.S. militarist circles, which had never abandoned their hegemonist pretensions. But the West European leaders who supported the decision on the "rearming" of NATO and made their states' territory available for the American Pershing 2's and cruise missiles bear their share of the blame.

It was not surprising that the first icy gusts of wind blew precisely from across the Atlantic. Strictly speaking, backstage and sometimes open resistance to the policy of detente and the Soviet-American agreements, as the rapprochement between East and West Europe also, never ceased there and became increasingly strong as the number of specific accords, in whatever sphere--limitation of this type of arms or the other, trade, cultural, scientific and humanitarian exchange--increased.

True, the situation on the eve and at the outset of the 1970's was not that favorable for the militarist forces: the "Vietnam syndrome," serious economic upheavals, the strengthening of the West European imperialist center and, correspondingly, the exacerbation of contradictions between it and the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, which had gained approximate military-strategic parity with the United States and NATO. All this, particularly the latter fact, curbed the flagrantly aggressive, militarist circles, which, however, were building up their forces and purposefully preparing for a switch to the counteroffensive with the aid of any means and pretexts. An anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign began to be fanned with growing hysteria. A hostile atmosphere was inflamed around Afghanistan and Poland.

It is appropriate to recall in this connection that the decision on the deployment of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in West Europe had been prepared long before the said events. Gen B. Rogers, commander of NATO Joint Armed Forces Europe, declared absolutely candidly that the American missiles would have been deployed in any event, irrespective of the Soviet SS-20 missiles. The NATO leadership's decision on so-called "rearmament" was a delayed-action bomb placed beneath the edifice of detente and European security: after all, it was a question of the deployment at the threshold of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries of first-strike nuclear weapons.

This decision was made in combination with other threatening actions of the United States and NATO. As is known, back in 1976 the Warsaw Pact countries had proposed to all participants in the All-European Conference the signing of a treaty renouncing first use of nuclear weapons and sent them the corresponding draft. NATO rejected this document, employing the false proposition that the Warsaw Pact was superior to the North Atlantic bloc in conventional arms.

And although objective data, including those of such authoritative establishments as the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, repeatedly confirmed the existence of approximate balance between the two military alliances, in March 1979 the Warsaw Pact states took a further step toward accommodating the West. They proposed to the NATO countries renunciation of the first use not only of nuclear but of conventional arms also. In other words, it was a question of the conclusion between the participants in the All-European Conference of a kind of nonaggression pact. However, the NATO leaders gave no positive answer to this initiative either.

All this testified to the abrupt turnabout in U.S. and NATO policy which had occurred as a result of the fact that the ascendancy in American ruling circles had been gained by aggressive forces, proteges of the military-industrial complex and representatives of the ultrareactionary part of the financial oligarchy. These forces could not reconcile themselves to detente. And if they had not been successful in preventing the convening of the All-European Conference, they resolved to emasculate the content of the accords achieved in Helsinki and distort their true meaning. It was precisely by detente that they attempted to "explain" the decline in the United States' influence in the world arena, the successes of the national liberation movement, the growth of the authority of world socialism, the increased attraction of its ideology and policy and, correspondingly, the progressive change in the global correlation of forces to the detriment of imperialism and in favor of peace and social progress.

Circles of the extreme right feared something else also--the upsurge of the antiwar movement in the United States and West Europe and on other continents and, finally, the increased thirst of the West European allies, which had increasingly declined to submit to the diktat of the U.S. Administration, for the pursuit of a foreign policy course more independent of the United States. In a word, Washington had evidently decided that it was time to "bring order to bear." A course was set toward unabashed hegemonism and the securing of the United States' military superiority and, as a result, political and economic world domination. This line was manifested



particularly distinctly with the occupancy of the White House of R. Reagan and his entourage of proteges of the military-industrial complex and politicians blinded by pathological anticommunism and prepared to go along with the most dangerous adventures.

Of course, even given all the cynicism of such figures, they nonetheless required some propagandist "moral" cover for the purpose of discrediting detente in the eyes of public opinion. This was necessary also to persuade the leaders of West European states of the "need" for the increased aggressiveness of Washington's policy. Several propaganda stereotypes were launched. One of them was that detente was a "one-way street," which the USSR and its allies used to strengthen their political positions in the world and also for spurring ahead in the military sphere; the USSR, it was said, had just about overtaken the United States here, while the latter had been displaying "restraint."

The facts, however, convincingly refute such inventions. All the USSR's defense measures have been and continue to be confined to an endeavor to preserve approximate equality and maintain it in the interests of its own security and the security of its allies and peace in the world. Washington's attempts, on the other hand, to play the part of "innocence betrayed" are risible, at the very least. This is what THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote in connection with the United States' "lag" in the military sphere: "If words have any meaning at all, this claim is nonsense. In the 1970's the United States added 5,000 nuclear warheads to its existing strategic arsenals, built the Trident 1 and Trident 2 and manufactured cruise missiles. Assessing the facts, no rational person could say that we have unilaterally disarmed."

If some people were indeed hoping to turn detente into a "one-way street," it was those who from the very outset had regarded the all-European process as a "necessary evil". And if it had to be suffered, then only on the basis of allowing traffic along the "Helsinki street" exclusively in a West-East direction, that is, using certain provisions of the Third Section of the Final Act (cooperation in the humanitarian and other spheres) as a channel of ideological-political penetration of the socialist countries in the illusory hope of shaking their community by "peaceful means".

The failure of the plans which certain circles in the West linked with detente they attempted to portray virtually as the "perfidy and cunning" of the USSR and its allies. On the pretext of "repudiating the euphoria" allegedly engendered in the West by detente they began to attack the very essence of it and assail the multilateral and bilateral mutually profitable agreements which had been concluded in the course of the all-European process. They speculated to the utmost here on the proposition concerning the "indivisibility of detente." It was asserted, for example, that there could be no genuine detente in Europe at all as long as there were conflicts and continued tension in various parts of the world.

Detente presupposes a high sense of responsibility in leading politicians and requires the adoption of considered decisions based on a comprehensive consideration of the consequences of their actions. And the situation in the

world in the 1980's could appear quite different if those who determine the policy of the United States and NATO display good will toward the establishment of truly equal relations between the peoples. This would make it possible to start a new chapter in the history of both international and European security.

### III

The possibility of starting such a new chapter undoubtedly exists. More, this is sorely needed since not only Europe but all mankind also are experiencing a critical moment, the situation in the world is too tense and the clouds looming on the world's political horizon are too menacing. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its aspiration to proceed along the path of detente and a further strengthening of European and international security is invariable. This line was confirmed by the 26th CPSU Congress in the Peace Program for the 1980's which it adopted and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. It is being implemented by the party and government as they prepare for the 27th congress.

In the report at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum M.S. Gorbachev declared: "The Politburo proceeds from the fact that the interstate documents of the period of the relaxation of tension, including the Helsinki Final Act, have not lost their significance. They represent an example of how international relations may be built if people are guided by the principles of equality and equal security and the realities which have taken shape in the world and if they do not aspire to any advantages but seek mutually acceptable solutions and accords. It would seem that in connection with the 10th anniversary of the CSCE it would be useful for the will to once again be expressed in Helsinki on behalf of the states which signed the Final Act for the surmounting of the dangerous tension and the development of peaceful cooperation and constructive principles in international life."

Unfortunately, displays of genuine good will are not as yet to be seen on Washington's part. True, formal assurances of a love of peace are uttered periodically. Certain allegedly "detente" signals are being emitted from NATO Headquarters and attempts are being made to lull the public with the fact that Soviet-American negotiations are under way in Geneva and that, consequently, there is no cause for concern.

There is one further aspect of such a course, namely, imparting to the integration processes occurring in West Europe military-political forms beneficial to Washington and directing them into the necessary channel. More simply, against the USSR and its allies, Z. Brzezinski, well-known specialist in "subversive work" in the detente sphere, systematically presents specific ideas in this connection. His plan is aimed at, first, neutralizing the strengthening mood of distrust of the United States in West Europe and, frequently, open protest against its militarist policy and, second, setting an integrated capitalist West Europe against socialist East Europe. "The historical correlation of forces in Europe," he pontificates, "may change to the West's advantage only when the USSR is opposed west of the Elbe not so much by the United States as Europe itself" (he means West Europe--A.L.).

Such is one of the various American outlines of the "systems" of European security. The artificial counterposing of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements to the Helsinki Final Act also serves as an element of such "historical guile." The manifest far-fetched nature of such a formulation of the question ensues if only from the recognition--and not only in East but in West Europe also--of the fact that there is no nor could there be any contradiction between Yalta and Potsdam on the one hand and Helsinki on the other. The Final Act of the All-European Conference logically ensues from and confirms the allied agreements of the war period and conclusively enshrines the arrangement of Europe which took shape after the war.

A notable statement was made by FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher. Pointing out that his country should proceed in its efforts in the direction toward "new lasting detente" from the Helsinki Final Act and other positive results of the policy of the 1970's, he noted that a "third dimension"--space--had now emerged for detente. Considering this, Genscher said, "it is impossible to pursue a policy of detente on Earth and simultaneously an arms race in space." We have to agree. It is in this spirit that the Soviet Union is acting in calling for a halt to the deadly arms race on Earth and the prevention of such unfolding in space. Such a position is dictated not by weakness and not by the "technological lag" or "narrowness" of our country's military-economic potential. The USSR is of course capable of accepting this challenge also and duly responding to it. However, it is appealing to Washington to act in considered and responsible fashion in the name of the preservation of mankind.

The "spirit of Helsinki" has proven its vitality. This is most convincing evidence that the tremendous efforts expended on the creation of a firm foundation of European peace were not in vain.

#### IV

Our optimism and confidence in the future is based on many factors. Primarily they are based on the mighty defense and economic potential of the USSR and the entire socialist community, which is reliably protecting the gains of socialism against imperialist encroachments. The Soviet Union has never aspired and does not now aspire to military superiority, but under no circumstances will it permit anyone to have superiority over it. The foreign policy of socialism is increasingly showing itself to be a most important factor of peace. Thanks to the active diplomacy of the USSR and its allies, it has repeatedly been possible to ward off from mankind the seemingly mortal threat hanging over it. The dozens of major peace-loving initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union in recent years alone have invariably won support among the broadest strata of the public in the capitalist countries and are in unison with the demands of the antiwar, antinuclear movement.

And this is entirely understandable: after all, it was precisely our country, despite the international situation, which had become complicated at the start of the 1980's, which adopted a bold initiative, solemnly undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It was it which came out with the initiative of freeing Europe of both intermediate-range and tactical nuclear weapons. It was the Soviet Union which called for the liquidation of chemical

weapons on the European continent. It has also responded positively to the proposals of other states, particularly concerning a freezing of nuclear arsenals at the present quantitative and qualitative levels and the creation of nuclear-free zones in North Europe, in the Balkans and in the center of Europe--zones free of battlefield nuclear weapons.

At the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction in armed forces and armaments the GDR, Polish, USSR and CSSR delegations submitted the draft "Basic Provisions of an Agreement on an Initial Reduction by the Soviet Union and the United States of Ground Forces and Arms in Central Europe and No Subsequent Increase in the Levels of the Sides' Armed Forces and Armaments in This Region," which took a new step toward accommodating the West. Within a year of the agreement coming into force ground forces of the USSR and the United States in Central Europe would be reduced by 20,000 and 13,000 men respectively in combat military units with their authorized arms and combat equipment, and individual servicemen would constitute up to 10 percent of such reductions, furthermore.

Wishing to contribute to moving the negotiations in Geneva forward, the USSR announced a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range missiles until November 1985 and also other measures in Europe adopted in response to the deployment of the American Pershings and cruise missiles. It proposed a moratorium on the development and testing of space weapons for the period of the Geneva negotiations. Back in 1983 the Soviet Union declared that it would not put antisatellite systems in space as long as others did not.

And, finally, at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, which is a direct continuation of the Helsinki process, the socialist countries have put forward a whole set of major initiatives leading to military detente on the European continent. They provide for the adoption by the nuclear powers, in accordance with the USSR's example, of a commitment on no first use of nuclear weapons; the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between states; no increase and a reduction in military spending; the freeing of Europe from chemical weapons; assistance in the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the continent; and the elaboration of supplementary confidence-building measures in development of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act such as limitation of the scale of military exercises, prior notification of large-scale military exercises by the army, air force and navy and prior notification of large-scale troop movements and transfers. The working paper "Basic Provisions of a Treaty on the Mutual Nonuse of Military Force and the Maintenance of Relations of Peace" was submitted also.

However, the West, particularly the leading NATO states, continues to occupy a negative position on all these constructive initiatives. For its part, it is putting forward with a persistence worthy of a better application plans aimed at "X-raying" military targets on Soviet territory right up to the Urals, leaving the territory of the United States itself behind an impenetrable curtain here.



In May 1985 the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries submitted new specific and realistic proposals which develop and detail their previous initiatives concerning notification of large-scale military exercises. The USSR has always been ready to also discuss any counter-ideas, as long as they provide for effective measures to curb the arms race and not serve as camouflage for the further spiraling thereof. The sole condition which the USSR makes of all accords in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction and disarmament is strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. It is prepared for any constructive dialogue and has repeatedly proven its good will.

Such a dialogue is now under way. It has developed particularly intensively in recent months. Displaying justified concern at the situation that has come about on the European continent, the leaders of many Western countries are coming to the conclusion that only a return to detente can open a real path to the solution of the acute problems of security and also the development of mutually profitable cooperation, particularly in the sphere of the economy, power engineering, preservation of the biosphere and so forth.

A turn away from confrontation toward detente is being demanded by the antiwar and antinuclear organizations. A pronounced role in the mobilization of public opinion is being performed by the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation. On the initiative of the committee, in whose work many prominent politicians participate, broadly representative gatherings and other forums have already assembled repeatedly.

The Soviet Union has invariably responded positively to all fruitful ideas of public forces on problems of security and cooperation on the European continent. The attitude toward such initiatives on the part of many Western leaders is directly opposite. They either shrug them aside or portray such demonstrations as the result of the "communists' intrigues".

Communists are undoubtedly in the front ranks of those drawing the peoples' attention to the dangers threatening peace in Europe and throughout the world. They are fully aware of their responsibility for the fate of mankind and the significance of the historic mission which has fallen to their lot, namely, preserving the Earth from annihilation. After all, the ideology of communism is the ideology of peace, without which social progress is impossible. So there is not nor could there be here any contradiction between world outlook and foreign policy.

And it is perfectly natural that communists consider as their allies all those who advocate the removal of the nuclear threat and an end to the arms race. Marxist-Leninists are free of ideological blinders which would prevent their joint actions with forces of the widest political spectrum--socialists and social democrats, Christian democrats, conservatives, ecologists and representatives of various religious beliefs. The main thing is to ensure that such actions--common or in parallel--be geared to the removal of the threat of global catastrophe.



We have had and will have differences in the ideological plane, M.S. Gorbachev noted, addressing Socialist International President W. Brandt at a meeting in Moscow on 27 May 1985. But they should not prevent the interaction of communists and social democrats on the main, most acute problems of the present day. In turn, W. Brandt declared that "the different positions on the question of social systems and political arrangements should not impede us in a new undertaking designed to make detente irreversible."

This is to what the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries aspire. Many Western politicians are beginning to perceive increasingly keenly the need to lend new impetus to contacts all along the line, particularly to dialogue at the top level. And this is already producing certain practical results. There has been a useful exchange of opinions between M.S. Gorbachev and a whole number of leaders of West European states, the United States and Canada. M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming meetings in October and November 1985 with the presidents of France and the United States have been announced. As Italian Prime Minister B. Craxi declared in Moscow in May 1985, "it is important to ensure continuity of the CSCE process in all its components...."

Of course, on both sides of the Atlantic there are forces which both support and oppose detente. There are in West Europe, perhaps, increasingly more of those in favor, and they have considerable influence and recognize the importance of detente for the security of their countries.

Of course, in the positions of the Western states which signed the Final Act 10 years ago there are considerable differences in approach to questions of detente and disarmament. They were also ascertained sufficiently clearly in the course of A.A. Gromyko's meetings in May 1985 in Vienna with the foreign ministers of a number of countries who had gathered on the 30th anniversary of the signing of the State Treaty on the Restoration of an Independent and Democratic Austria—a document which had gone down in history as a striking example of the possibility of the fruitful cooperation of states with different social systems.

The overwhelming majority of West European leaders, to judge by their official statements, are appealing to Washington not to move toward a violation of the provisions of the SALT II Treaty and the Treaty Limiting ABM Systems. At the same time, on the other hand, they are closing their eyes to the specific U.S. actions which are actually undermining the Soviet-American agreements. It is also the case that certain West European circles are, without any grounds for this, placing equal responsibility for the arms race on the United States and the USSR.

As a whole, the present picture of the world is highly complex and contradictory. Nonetheless, in spite of all the barriers, a trend toward realism in policy has once again been strengthening in the recent period.

The 10th anniversary of the CSCE is not simply a reminder of a large-scale historical event. It could be an important point of departure for a new stage of all-European development and further specific measures in this direction. "The 10th anniversary of the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act of the

All-European Conference, which falls due on 1 August," M.S. Gorbachev declared, "should, we believe, pass under the sign of the restoration and extension of the detente process. The historic significance of this document, which is imbued with the spirit of detente, should be confirmed by a joint action of the participating states."

Detente cannot be buried or canceled merely because it is contrary to the will of world reaction. The cherished hopes of the peoples, the broadest public groups of different political views and people of opposite philosophies are combined in detente for it corresponds to the realities of the modern world. Here lie the sources of its vitality.

The experience of detente and cooperation which has been accumulated in Europe could be applied to advantage in other parts of the world, primarily in Asia. If we are speaking, on the other hand, of a return to detente on a global, world scale, it is gratifying that its infrastructure has basically been preserved. It is now necessary to think in the categories and in terms of the prospects of the 21st century. The majority of signed and planned agreements in various spheres is addressed to the next century. All this places colossal political responsibility on the leaders of the states which participated in the All-European Conference. And it is now more important than ever--and urgent, what is more--to demonstrate in practice the degree of understanding of this responsibility.

Clearly, good will should be displayed to an equal extent on both sides. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is always ready to cover its half of the path and display the necessary flexibility and constructiveness. For the further development of the all-European process corresponds to the cherished aspirations of all peoples of our continent and international security as a whole.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR'S TOLKUNOV, FRG PARLIAMENTARIANS MEET IN BONN

IZVESTIYA Report

PM131707 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 85 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Bovkun dispatch: "Discussing Security Problems"]

[Text] Bonn -- A Soviet public delegation headed by L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, has arrived in Bonn at the invitation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which has close links with the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD].

This is the third meeting of representatives of the Soviet and FRG public within the framework of the dialogue on security problems (the first was held in Bonn in 1982, the second in Moscow in the fall of 1984).

On 11 December the delegation visited the Bundestag and had a conversation with members of the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs, which comprises representatives of all the political parties represented in the FRG parliament. L.N. Tolkunov, academician O.T. Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, and other members of the delegation answered many questions from the deputies, who enquired about the USSR's domestic and foreign policy.

A substantial part of the discussion was devoted to the Geneva results. For the first time since the Soviet-U.S. summit, West German parliamentarians were able to welcome authoritative representatives of the Soviet public in the FRG and to hear their view on the prospects for detente. L.N. Tolkunov emphasized that the U.S. SDI program remains the main obstacle in the path of ending the arms race and achieving real disarmament.

The meeting's participants also discussed the potential for the development of East-West political, trade, and economic cooperation, the improvement of contacts between CEMA and the "Common Market," and the further development of bilateral trade exchanges. FRG parliamentarians, O.T. Bogomolov said in the course of the discussion, could make a significant contribution to this cooperation.

The Soviet delegation will take part in a 2-day conference under the motto "Problems and Prospects of East-West Relations," organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. An exchange of views on this topic with prominent SPD politicians E. Bahr, H. Ehmke, K. Voigt, and A. Von Buelow is planned.

Discuss Summit, SDI

LD132315 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 13 Dec 85

[Text] Bonn, December 13 TASS -- A conference of representatives of the public of the USSR and the FRG ended here today. It was attended by prominent politicians and public figures of the FRG and also a Soviet delegation led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

The recent Soviet-American summit meeting has laid an imprint on the course of the conference. "Though no solution of very important issues, linked with ending the arms race, was attained in Geneva, its results, and above all the joint statement that the nuclear war must not be unleashed, make one hopeful", said Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the faction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the FRG Bundestag.

"The task now is to see to it that the Geneva meeting be followed by concrete deeds, above all in curbing the arms race."

The FRG Social Democrats support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, particularly its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, stressed Egon Bahr, chairman of the FRG Bundestag's Subcommittee on Disarmament and Arms Control. "The Social Democratic Party of Germany firmly is, as before, of the opinion that the nuclear potentials of France and Britain should be taken into account in the course of negotiations on nuclear and space armaments," he said.

The main thing now is to see to it that the positive results of the Geneva meeting, and their impact on the development of the situation in the world as a whole and in Europe, should not be reduced to zero, Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, said at the conference.

The Soviet speakers drew the attention of the participants in the conference to the stand of the USSR on the main questions of international development, problems of disarmament and arms control, and questions linked with militarization of outer space and the role of the FRG in that. Unfortunately, it was noted at the conference, the FRG has actually made its choice in favour of participation in the SDI and what is at issue is only a form of such participation. Thereby, the Soviet side believes, the FRG is joining in a violation of the U.S.-Soviet treaty on the limitation of anti-missile defense systems. As a result, a zone of reduced security, with the FRG in its centre, will appear in Europe.

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